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A
MEMORIAL
OF
SAMUEL BARSTOW

PRESENTED TO

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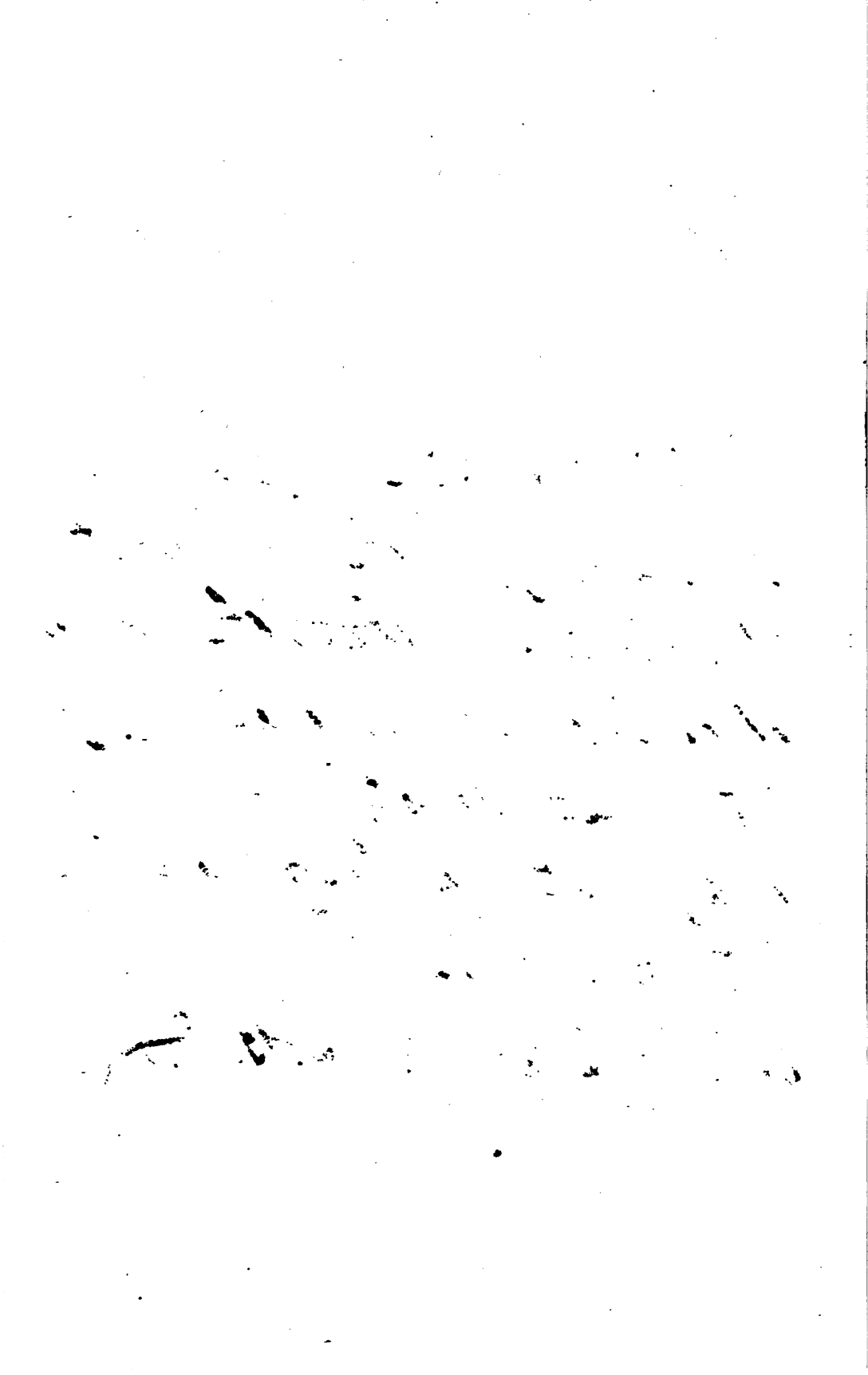
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

By R. B. Bethune, Cuffield.
December 7 1854

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This "Memorial" is presented
to the Library of the University
of Michigan, that the name
of one who was ever among
its most devoted friends,
may not be forgotten in
its annals.

Detroit Dec 7. 1854. D.B.D.



A

MEMORIAL

OF

Samuel Barstow,

OF DETROIT,

WHO DIED JULY 12TH, 1854.



Printed for Private Circulation.

—
1854.

DETROIT: E. A. WALES, PRINTER.

Prefatory Sketch.

THIS small volume is intended as a private memorial of one whose qualities of head and heart were such as to endear him to a large circle of friends in no ordinary degree. The hand of death could scarcely have snatched one from out this community whose loss could have occasioned a deeper feeling of regret, or a more profound realization of a vacant place, than was felt when, on the twelfth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, the tidings came with electric stroke, as with electric speed, from a distant city, that SAMUEL BARSTOW was no more of earth. So soon as it came to be felt that we should not again see and hear more of him whose life and labors were so much devoted to the benefit of his fellow men, a strong desire arose among those who knew him best, to possess a memorial, of that mind and heart, that might long continue to speak to us, as

from his own lips, in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn."

We have found in the Funeral Address of the Rev. Henry Neill, a forcible and graphic sketch of the character of our deceased friend, and a setting forth of all the most important aims and aspirations of his life, that could be known beyond the precincts of his own home ; and did we not know that even the brief acquaintance that had existed between the author of the address and our lamented friend, had awakened chords of sympathy in kindred souls, we might wonder at the instinctive and ready perception which could draw so true a picture, with so few opportunities for studying its subject.

This address has left little to be done in the way of a biographical notice, beyond a mere outline of the main facts of his history.

Samuel Barstow, although of New England lineage, was a native of the town of Nichols, in Tioga county, in the State of New York, to which his father, Doctor Gamaliel H. Barstow, had removed at an early day from Berkshire county, in Massachusetts.

Doctor Barstow was for a considerable period a practising physician at Nichols ; but he has long since retired from the practice of medicine, since which he has pursued farming, merchandize, and the lumber

trade of the Susquehanna, as his ordinary occupations. But, possessing a capacity and a taste for public affairs, and the full confidence of the people, he has at various periods, from 1816 to 1838, represented his district in the Assembly and the Senate of New York, and in the House of Representatives of the United States, and during the same period has twice held the post of Treasurer of the State, which positions have uniformly been filled with credit to himself, and to the satisfaction of his constituents. Those who know the father, will readily perceive that the deeply reflective and philosophical habits of his mind, have not been without their effect upon the character of his gifted son.

Our deceased friend was born on the 26th day of September, 1813. His earlier education was obtained under the parental roof, in the district school of the neighborhood, behind the counter of the country store, among the fields and woods of his native hills, and in occasional voyages down the Susquehanna as supercargo upon his father's arks, and rafts of lumber. About the year 1832, however, he passed a year or more at the academy at Owego, a few miles distant from his father's residence, where he seems to have devoted himself with considerable assiduity to what are termed the higher branches of learning as taught

in such institutions. But during all this period the ordinary text-books constituted but a small portion of his reading: biography, history, natural and moral philosophy, and the best writers of poetical and prose fiction, seem to have been not merely read, but studied with avidity, and to have made enduring impressions upon his retentive memory. His knowledge of history, especially, was comprehensive and accurate. Some idea of the use he made of it may be gathered from the productions of his pen printed in this volume.

In the autumn of the year 1833, Mr. Barstow entered upon the study of the law at Owego, in the office of the Hon. Thomas Farrington, a lawyer of high standing in that portion of the State, and who has filled several honorable and important offices.

It was here, and then, that the writer of this sketch was first associated with him, as a fellow student and companion. That association has continued unbroken in feeling, though for a short time severed by space, until the day of his death; and its memories will be cherished, so long as the relics of time are permitted to occupy a place in the survivor's breast.

He was never an indolent student, but always thorough and searching in his investigations. With him the law was not learned by rote, as a mere system of dry rules, but was studied as a philosophical

science, and its teachings and maxims probed to their origin.

In the spring of the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five Mr. Barstow entered the law school connected with Yale College, and passed the law terms of that year under the teachings of the venerable Judge Daggett and Professor Hitchcock, of whose instructions and discipline he ever spoke in high commendation.

But, judging from his letters and a journal kept during that period, although the law was not neglected, its dryness and severity were often relieved by not very restricted wanderings into the fields of general literature, and even occasional wooings of the gentle muse.

In eighteen hundred and thirty-six he returned to Owego, and continued the study of the law in the office of John M. Parker, Esq., still a practitioner in high standing in that county; and during this year he first visited these Western States, in a tour as rapid as the modes of travel then in use would allow, but stopping at Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, long enough to form an idea of their prospects. The greater parts of the years eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, and eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, were passed in still further study of the law, in the city of Albany, under the guidance of Marcus T. Reynolds, Esq., for many years an eminent lawyer, whose extended learning,

ready acumen, and power of mind, were not lost upon Mr. Barstow. Here were associated with him many fellow students, and some kindred spirits, who still hold him in pleasant, and vivid remembrance.

In October, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, Mr. Barstow was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the State of New York; and in November of the same year, came to the city of Detroit and commenced the practice of his profession, which he pursued with ability and success to the period of his decease. His brethren of the bar, in their associated capacity, have spoken of him in their resolutions, which are subjoined, in language to which it is unnecessary to add, but which contains no exaggeration of what all felt to be true. These proceedings, and those of other bodies, with which he was associated in earnest efforts to disseminate knowledge of the truth and banish error, the funeral address, and the two productions of his own pen here presented, will sufficiently speak the nature of his career in Detroit. These do not portray a mind, or a heart, fettered by a selfish spirit to narrow aims. His own aggrandizement was not his goal; a broad philanthropy characterized his action: he pursued Truth for her own sake, and because she ever leads her faithful follower onward, to her eternal home.

In his political opinions Mr. Barstow was a liberal whig. He was never ultra nor one-sided in any of his views; these were ever comprehensive and enlarged, and he wished to be generous as well as just to his opponents—he did not pursue politics as a trade, or for the spoils of office. The only public office he ever held, or sought, was one entirely in the line of his profession—that of Attorney of the United States for Michigan, to which he was appointed on the resignation of George C. Bates, Esq., in June, eighteen hundred and fifty-two, and his removal to California. On the accession of President Pierce, he experienced what has become a matter of course, in a revolution of administrations—a removal from office, which he held but ten months.

His political action was based upon the belief, that, in a country governed by public opinion, it is the duty of every enlightened and virtuous citizen, to take a personal interest in its affairs, and to use his influence and his efforts in forming and directing that opinion; and it was as a consequence of that belief, (for with him to believe was to act,) and for the purpose of aiding in bringing up the masses of the people, to the position which the constitution of the Government expects them to occupy, that so much of his attention was devoted to the subject of popular education.

In eighteen hundred and forty Mr. Barstow was married, at Albany, to Miss Frances Spafford, daughter of the late Horatio Gates Spafford, of that city. This accomplished and lovely person survived their marriage but little more than a year, and her memory yet sweetly and tenderly lingers around the hearts of those friends whose good fortune it was to be within her sphere. In eighteen hundred and forty-four Mr. Barstow was again married to Miss Williams, a niece of the Hon. John Kenzie, of Chicago, who, with their only child, a boy of scarce two summers, survive to mourn his irreparable loss. Of her, in her sorrow and bereavement, it is not the time, nor place, to speak.

On the seventh day of July Mr. Barstow, with his wife and child, left Detroit for a few weeks of summer travel and recreation. He only reached Buffalo; and while remaining there, on a short visit to a friend, was attacked on Tuesday, with the fatal disease which ensued in his death on Wednesday, the twelfth day of the same month. His earthly remains were brought to Detroit, and interred at Elmwood Cemetery on the Saturday following, on which occasion the address of the Rev. Mr. Neill was delivered; his spirit has returned to God, who gave it, with whom we believe that soul was reconciled through faith in the merits of the atoning blood of a divine, but incarnate Savior.

Meeting of the Detroit Bar.

Pursuant to notice, the members of the Detroit Bar assembled at the United States Court Room on July, fourteenth inst.

The meeting was called to order by A. D. Fraser, Esq., President of the Bar, and Wm. Gray, Esq., was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The President stated that the object of the meeting was to enable the Bar to take suitable action in reference to the sudden demise of Samuel Barstow, Esq., long a prominent and respected member of the profession. Less than a week since, Mr. Barstow walked in their midst, full of life and hope. On Friday last he left Detroit, anticipating a brief absence and a speedy re-union with his numerous friends and associates in this city. On the Wednesday following the sad tidings reached them that he was no more. A life of usefulness was suddenly terminated. The death of such a man was no ordinary event—it would be deeply felt by the professional brethren and associates of the deceased, to whom he was much endeared, and it would be long lamented by his fellow-citizens, who appreciated in life, and now in death would miss, the zeal and ability he ever brought to the advancement of everything promotive of their general welfare and prosperity.

As a lawyer, Mr. Barstow deservedly occupied a high rank in his profession. In him, strict integrity, sound judgment, extensive learning and intellectual endowments, of no ordinary stamp, combined to form a lawyer, of whom his brethren might be, as they were, proud. His usefulness and efforts were not confined to the walks of his profession. In almost every public movement he took an active and prominent part. He was a zealous friend to general education. To its interest and advancement he devoted a large portion of his time and abilities. He was in this State the originator of the splendid system of Common Schools—the object to all of so much just pride, and the source of such unlimited benefits. To his efforts, too, the Detroit Young Men's Society, and indeed every literary and benevolent institution in the city, owed much of its usefulness and prosperity.

It remains now for the meeting to give suitable expression to the regret felt for one so universally esteemed and respected.

On motion of D. Bethune Duffield, Esq., a committee of five was appointed to report resolutions.

The committee consisted of Messrs. Duffield, Van-Dyke, Howard, Hand, and Harbaugh; who, after a short absence, reported the following:

Whereas, Providence, in the recent death of Hon. Samuel Barstow, late United States District Attorney, has deprived this Bar of one of its most beloved and estimable members, while, as yet, in early life, and in the full enjoyment of professional success and the entire confidence of this community; and, whereas, they are desirous of expressing their unfeigned regret under this afflictive dispensation, therefore:

Resolved, By the members of the Detroit Bar, that in the death of their lamented brother, they have lost from their number one who has been acknowledged an able, upright, and faithful lawyer, an accomplished scholar and friend of letters, a gentleman of highly cultivated taste, of the most generous impulses and spotless honor, and an ornament to the profession, which, by a blameless and laborious life, he has long adorned.

Resolved, That in the death of Mr. Barstow the friends of education both in this city and throughout the State, are deprived of one who has contributed in an eminent degree to the building up and successful establishment of our system of Free Schools; and, to his praise, it is known that his zeal and laborious efforts in this behalf were the disinterested promptings of a pure and noble mind, at all times devoted to the highest and best interests of his fellow men, and ever ready for any sacrifice that was at all calculated to promote the public weal, or by an enlightened and liberal charity to advance the interests of humanity.

Resolved, That our deep and heartfelt sympathy is hereby extended to the sorrowing family of the deceased, both in this city and the paternal home, as they bow beneath this sore affliction, which deprives them of a devoted husband and parent, and of a most affectionate and dutiful son, and that copies of these resolutions, duly certified, be transmitted to them by the Secretary.

Resolved, That the members of this Bar do all attend, in a body, the funeral of the deceased, wearing the usual badge of mourning, and that the Secretary be directed to ascertain and give notice of the time and place when the same shall occur.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the several daily papers of this city, and duly entered on the records of this Bar by the Secretary.

D. Bethune Duffield, Esq., on offering the resolu-

tions, said that he could not refrain from saying a few words in reference to the sad dispensation which had called them together. Ever since his coming to the West, now more than fifteen years ago, he had been on terms of the closest intimacy with Mr. Barstow. He knew him well, and could sincerely affirm that he never knew a man in whom more virtues clustered. Gifted with a mind naturally of the highest order, and cultivated to the highest extent, possessed of habits of untiring industry, and a general confidence secured by pure and unblemished honor, it was in the power of Mr. Barstow to be, not only an eminent lawyer, but a useful and prominent citizen. That he became and continued such, no citizen of Detroit could for a moment doubt—the evidences were thick around them. For years his name was intimately associated with every movement which had for its object the moral, educational, or political advancement of his fellow citizens; and every man associated with him in such movements was willing to admit how largely his zeal, ability, and judgment, contributed to their success. They could not look upon the splendid School System, which reflected so much honor on the city and State, without remembering that he was its originator; nor at the prosperous condition of the Young Men's Society, without recalling the many years through

which he labored for its advancement; they could not hear of the soothing charities of the Benevolent Society, without knowing that he was long its President, and always its truest and most active friend. On each of those societies he had left the impress of his mind, and in each of them he had a monument that would long preserve his memory among his fellow-citizens.

Hon. G. E. Hand said he could not let this occasion pass without expressing the sincere regret which, in common with the rest of the community, he felt for the loss of one who had been so long an honored member of the profession, and a prominent and useful citizen. Mr. Barstow had been his predecessor in the office of United States District Attorney. Mr. Hand dwelt at some length upon the qualities possessed by Mr. Barstow, which, he said, eminently qualified him for discharging the important duties of the office. While he was strict and prompt in caring for the interest of the laws and government, his kindness and humanity towards those against whom he was compelled to act, were worthy of all praise and imitation. With such an example before him, Mr. Hand hoped that his own discharge of the same duties would be such as to merit a portion of the praise so justly due to his departed brother. Judge Hand also spoke of the early career of Mr. Barstow in this State—the

active part he had taken in matters of public interest, the success that usually attended his efforts, his distinction in literary attainments, and the universal respect and esteem that attended him from first to last.

Mr. Bishop said that too much praise could not be bestowed upon the constant and unwearied efforts, which their departed friend had given to the cause of Education and Common Schools. He pointed out the difficulties which had to be met in the establishment of the system—the peculiar fitness of Mr. Barstow to overcome them, and the constant devotion which did, and alone could, secure success. Mr. Barstow, he said, did not stop, however, with the establishment of the system; he continued to the last its active friend and supporter, and, of his own knowledge, his judgment and prudence had constantly warded off threatened danger. His devotion to the School System was not a momentary impulse, but a sustained, continuous effort. If Mr. Barstow had done nothing else, the services he had rendered to the cause of Education, were sufficient to preserve his memory, and entitle him to the gratitude, not alone of the citizens of Detroit, but of every citizen of the State.

Hon. G. V. N. Lothrop said, that, in any ordinary case, he would not desire to add a word to what had already been said, but during his connection with it,

no death had occurred at the Bar, which touched him so nearly as that of Mr. Barstow. For many years he had known Mr. Barstow intimately ; he had met him at the Bar, both when associated together, and when opposed to each other, and never knew in him the word or act that was inconsistent with the strictest integrity, and highest sense of honor. There were few members of the profession more beloved by his brethren. The courteous bearing which marked his intercourse with others, and the sense of right and kindly feelings which governed his actions, were well calculated to secure the kindly regards of all with whom he associated. It was saying much for one whose profession made life one of continued struggles, filled with daily temptations, but he believed he could safely assert, that the man did not breathe who would say that Mr. Barstow's hand ever fell heavily or unjustly upon him ; none but the kindest feelings were associated with his name ; than his, there never was a death more mourned by the Bar, and than now, it never bore a juster tribute to the memory of any of its members.

On motion, the resolutions reported by the committee were unanimously adopted.

James V. Campbell, Esq., stated that the funeral of Mr. Barstow would take place at the Second Presby-

terian Church, on Saturday, the 15th July, and on his motion it was

Resolved, That the members of the Bar should meet at the United States Court Room, on the 15th inst., at nine o'clock A.M., for the purpose of attending the funeral in a body.

The Death of Samuel Barstow.

At a meeting of the Detroit Young Men's Society, held at their Hall on the evening of the 13th July, the Vice-President, J. Logan Chipman, Esq., announced to the Society the sudden decease of the Hon. Samuel Barstow, a distinguished member, and former President of the Society,

Whereupon, Jas. V. Campbell, Esq., moved that a committee of six be appointed by the Chair, to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the Society, in relation to their unexpected bereavement. Mr. Campbell prefaced his resolutions with a short sketch of the character and life of the deceased, in which he made many feeling allusions to his high social, moral, and professional excellence.

The Chair appointed Messrs. Campbell, Chandler, Bishop, Carpenter, Howe, and E. C. Walker, such committee, who reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

Whereas, we have learned with deep sorrow the death of Samuel Barstow, Esq., one of the oldest members of this society, and formerly

its President, and are desirous of giving expression to our sentiments of respect for his character, and our grief at his sudden departure. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That, by the death of Mr. Barstow, this society has lost one who for many years has been most active and useful in its affairs, who in every capacity, as President, member of the board and society, has always evinced the deepest solicitude for its welfare, and contributed essentially, by his zeal and devotion to its interests, to its prosperity and increase.

Resolved, That, in common with our fellow citizens, we deplore his loss as that of a pure and honorable gentleman, a business man of diligence and unspotted integrity, a public-spirited and liberal citizen, and a firm friend and supporter of the exalted interests of education, benevolence and religion; and that, by the enthusiastic devotion of a warm heart and brilliant intellect, to the advancement of knowledge and charity, he has set a noble example that should be held in grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with his bereaved family in their affliction, and most respectfully tender them the assurance of our unfeigned sorrow for their loss, and our earnest wishes for their welfare.

Resolved, That we will attend his funeral in a body, wearing the usual badge of mourning.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted, by the President, to the widow and father of the deceased, and that the same be published in the daily papers of this city.

After which, Messrs. Howe, E. C. Walker, and Chandler, made remarks, expressive of their respect and affection for Mr. Barstow.

On motion of Mr. Chandler, it was

Resolved, That the Society meet at the steamer Western World, on Friday, to receive and escort the remains of Mr. Barstow to his late home.

On motion of Mr. Campbell, it was

Resolved, That the committee on resolutions act as a committee of arrangements for the funeral of Mr. Barstow, on behalf of the Society.

The Society then adjourned.

CLARENCE E. EDDIE, Secretary.

Board of Education.

At a meeting of the Board, held pursuant to notice, on July 13, 1854, Charles Byram, Esq., was called to the chair, when the following resolutions were offered by Levi Bishop, Esq., and unanimously adopted :

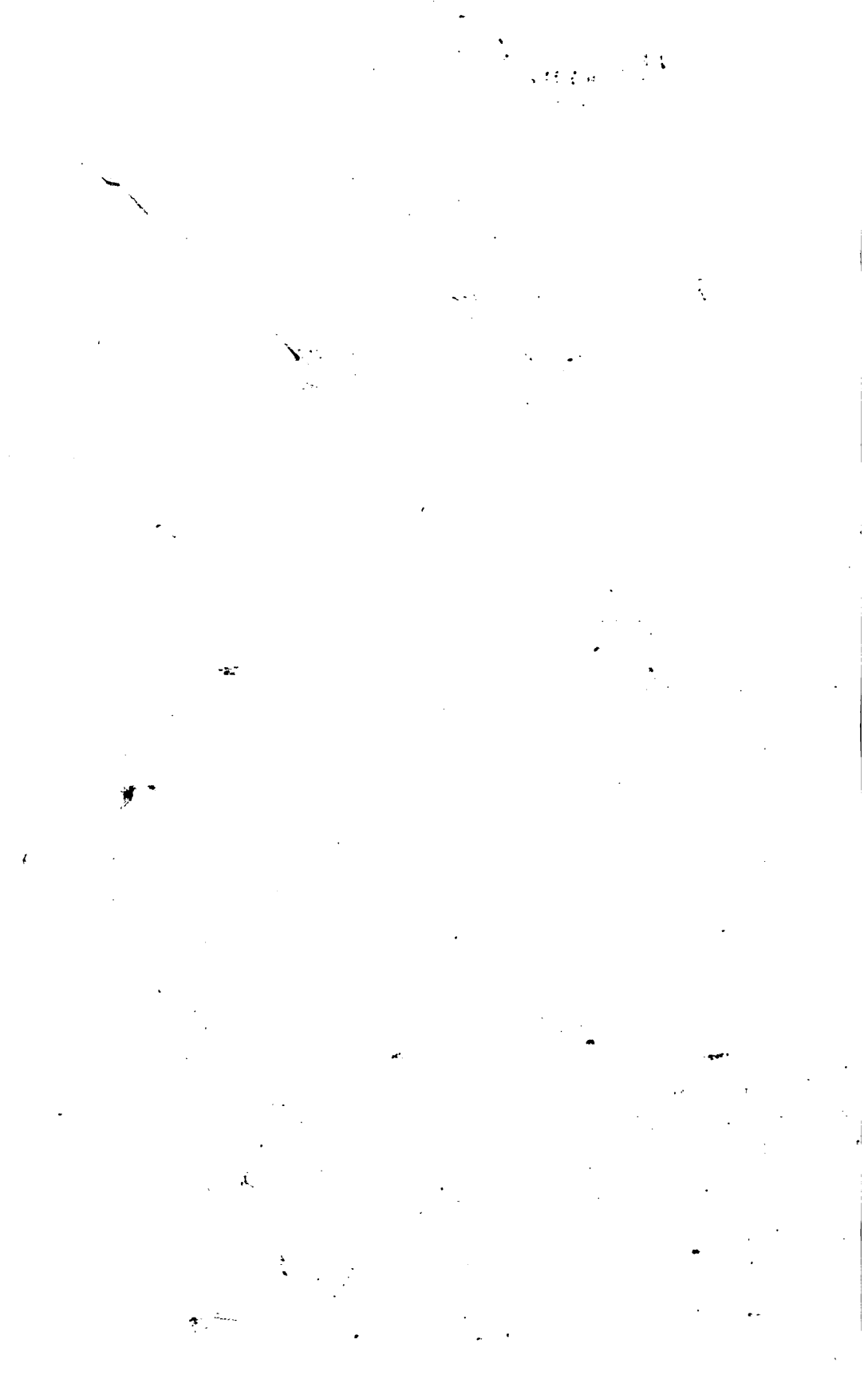
Resolved, That we have heard with profound sorrow of the sudden death of Samuel Barstow, Esq., who has been a member of this board from its first creation in eighteen hundred and forty-two, who has generally been placed at the head of its most important committees, who has served for several successive terms as its presiding officer, and who, on all such occasions, and under all circumstances, has been a most zealous, efficient and sincere friend of public schools, and of popular education in our city.

Resolved, That to Mr. Barstow, is this city mainly indebted for the establishment of Free Schools therein, and particularly do we owe to his public spirit, and to his untiring and self-sacrificing devotion in behalf of education, that our School System has been maintained against strong adverse influences; that it has been built up and improved until it has become firmly established in the public confidence, and till it presents itself as a credit to its founders and to the city, and as a monument, more highly to be valued than those of marble or brass, to the fame of him whose death has called us together on this occasion.

Resolved, That in Mr. Barstow's death the teachers of our schools and the children under their charge, have lost a sincere and devoted friend. Their interests and welfare, next to the members of his own family, were ever uppermost in his mind. They were always at liberty to draw on his time and attention, and on his goodness of heart. This board, also,

has lost a member whose intentions were always upright — whose aims were always true to the best interests of education — whose judgment was always sound and reliable, and whose advice, given invariably with frankness, was “a light to our feet and a lamp to our path,” in the discharge of our official duties. We regard his death as a public calamity. Who shall worthily fill his place? “Time may cover his tomb with moss and wild flowers, but it will always be associated with those pleasant recollections which gather around the shade of departed virtue.”

Resolved, That we will attend the funeral of the deceased, and wear the usual badge of mourning. That these resolutions be entered in the records of the board; that they be published in the city papers, and that a copy of them be forwarded to the family of the deceased.



AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED

On Occasion of the Funeral of Samuel Barstow,

JULY 15, 1854.

AT THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, IN DETROIT,

BY THE REV. HENRY NEILL.

"No man hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit."

Ecc. viii. : 8.

THUS are we compelled to recognize the limits of human capability. Strong as is the spirit of a man, there is one event too strong for it. Potent for resistance as are the exertions of a resolute will, yet there is a force, before which even highly anointed energies are vanquished. From whatever other summons a release may be procured, there is one sentence which is inexorable: "It is appointed unto all men to die."

Ceaseless, often, is the heart's desire for only a temporary reversion of this enactment: Its plans are unfinished; companion, child, parent are to be left;

the best purposes of the mind have not been carried out to their consummation. Importunate and weighty might be the plea which a spirit, on the confines of time, could present against an immediate and abrupt removal from the scene of its earthly labors; especially if called in early life to surrender itself up. It might argue that the days of man's years are three score years and ten, and not, only two score; that it has not yet grown familiar with the prospect of dissolution; that a precipitated death has special terrors; that futurity is an untried realm; that only by strenuous and oft-repeated effort can any mind reconcile itself to separation from the body; that its work on earth is but begun; that its hope was to gather much more material for happy recollection in the future; that if compelled at once to leave home and friends and toils, it must go with a sense of disappointment, and of "purposes broken off."

With an earnestness made intense by rapidly waning pulses, and the approach of fearful solemnities, amid the visions of life receding, might it thus articulate its urgent appeal. But, after the fiat had gone forth, that remonstrance would be in vain. There is a war from which there is no discharge. "No man hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit."

Were this invasion upon the human tabernacle only occasional, at wide intervals of time, and in regions far apart, its approach might not be so appalling ; but its victims are not isolated—

“In heaps they lay,
Like the mower's grass at the close of the day.”

Did Death come in mild and beauteous robes, garnishing the form it is about to prostrate, giving tokens of joy in its impress on the frame, it might not be so repulsive. But no such amiable accompaniments mark the footsteps of the Destroyer. He comes to sunder, not to bind up ; to smite, and not to heal ; and that which was comely and glowing and eloquent, is left rigid and still and white.

Only some stern demand could authorize the adoption of such a ghastly agency. Nor need we dwell now on the origin, nature or extent of its necessity. It grew out of the fall and the rebellion of the human will. “Death by sin” reveals the secret of this terrific institution. Its appointment was imperative. If left to themselves, men would defy God. The building of the tower, the numbering of the tribes, the revolts, the successive apostacies, indicate the nature, but not all the obduracy, of the human heart when fully set to achieve its own ends. To check and quell this sturdy defiance of the Most High,

it was necessary to meet man often and with impressive symbols, and in his daily path ; and thus and there remind him of God, and of his accountability. But what could stay the heedlessness of thoughtless multitudes crowding the marts of pleasure and of sin ? What could still the throbbing of the earthly pulses long enough to let a warning voice be heard ? What could, even for a little while, turn the eye of the covetous away from his gains, and of the ambitious away from his prizes, and at the same time open their understanding to the claims of the future ? What but an arrangement which, whilst it would subdue unholy desire, should also point significantly to worlds beyond the grave ! What but an economy which, whilst consigning the dust to dust, should at the same time remand the spirit to God, who gave it ! And what is Death but just such an agency ?

Is it not always at work ? Is it not fresh in its lessons for every generation ? Does it not come with a relentlessness that knows no intermission, and with a ministry that must ever be felt ?

Nor is its mission only to appal. Death, whilst it secures dissolution, may unfold unanticipated felicities to the departing spirit. New powers may be conferred in the dying strife. Resources hitherto unrecognized may then appear, and hold in check the

forces that are conquered only by Omnipotence. What a highly endowed and divinely anointed mind may yet do to unloose the grasp of the Destroyer is not revealed. But this we are permitted to say, that if purity of purpose can make Death's presence tolerable; if elevation of aim can disarm its terrors; or a sincere and conscientious heart look unblanched upon its approach, then Mr. Barstow was not appalled when he found that he "had no power over the spirit to retain the spirit."

It was on Tuesday, the eleventh of July, that an insidious disease manifested itself in that brain which had so often, so generously, so uncomplainingly, and so successfully wrought for others' good. On the Wednesday morning following, the shadows of the Valley were darkening his features, and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day he ceased to breathe.

I do not propose to go into any detailed narration of the sufferings and utterances in that sick-room, at Buffalo. His words were few. His spirit, still. Nor would I presume, in the presence of those who have known him so long and so well, to enter upon even a sketch of his character, mournfully satisfactory and full of admiration as are my remembrances of it, were I not in possession of some of his own maturest and

sincerest convictions of truth and duty. I will endeavor to let his own words speak.

As the friend of education ; as a patriot ; as a philanthropist ; as a man ; as a friend ; and as one whose intention it was soon to make a public profession of his faith in Christ, you will be glad to hear from him.

He loved the cause of Education. His views of what an educational system should be, and might effect, were such as commanded the energies of his intellect, and the ardor of his nature. He regarded the school system as developing and forming an era in the history of man. Not more did the free cities, mark and create new modes of thought in the feudal ages, not more surely did the Crusades disseminate information among the nations, and the revival of letters quicken the intellect of Europe, and Magna Charta introduce and fortify English mind, than to his eye did the School System, as an Institution for all ages, promise light and power to the world. So long as it authorized and claimed freedom to read the Bible, and used well its privilege, he saw in it the genius of a loftier civilization, and the herald of a renovated race.

Nor was it an abstract or theoretical enthusiasm that animated him. He labored strenuously to secure to the youth of the city of Detroit, and of the State of

Michigan, a well informed mind. Previous to the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-one (says the Secretary of the Board of Education), no such thing as a free school was known in Detroit. Associated with the then mayor of the city, well known for his untiring interest in everything connected with this subject, was Samuel Barstow. The population of the city was then between nine and ten thousand. The whole number of scholars was seven hundred, and the average cost of tuition was seventeen dollars per year for every scholar.

In one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, Mr. Barstow, as Chairman of the Committee of the Board of Education, presented a memorial to the Legislature to amend the Statute on Public Schools. This amendment became a law. A system of instruction was wrought out and set in operation ; school-houses were built ; objections met ; prejudices removed ; children sought out from house to house, and brought in ; and instead of seven hundred scholars at seventeen dollars each per annum, five thousand are now educated at less than one dollar each, and with incomparably better instruction.

So successfully did Mr. Barstow labor for this object, and so cheerfully, that he seemed to count it a privilege to spend almost any amount of time to shed

a few rays of light on the mind of a needy child ; and, as a consequence, both teacher and pupil loved him. What words of encouragement he spoke, what acts of aid he rendered, to those whose labors were onerous, and whose means were limited, is written in hearts that can never forget him, and is a living monument to his worth.

Of a cultivated mind himself ; well and accurately read in history and in general literature ; fond of knowledge, and capable of great enjoyment from severer philosophic studies ; he would not rest until the children of the State shared in the luxury that contributed so much to his own elevation and delight. "Happy would he be," he says, "if he could but dimly indicate to others the vast extent and the wonderful variety of those literary treasures which a kind Providence has fitted man to enjoy ; or enunciate a single truth that, falling into a richer soil, shall ripen into wisdom ; or give birth to a single noble aspiration, or shed a solitary ray of light along the pathway of the honest seeker after virtue and knowledge." Deeply graven on his mind was the conviction, and I use his own words, that "individual happiness, and the advancement of the general good, ever keep pace with man's progress in the pursuit and appreciation of the truth." And, with him, truth was subordinate to

virtue. "To one who has studied history with care," he writes, "it cannot but be apparent that the greatest want of man is moral elevation, and that the sublimest enterprizes are those which tend to make men better." Would not Cicero's words in behalf of the poet Archias be strictly true of this reflective and studious friend of letters: "*Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent.*"

With such a culture and spirit, he could not turn away from the schools. In the resolutions of the Board of Education, passed on Thursday, the thirteenth, it was—

"*Resolved*, That in Mr. Barstow's death, the teachers of our schools and the children under their charge have lost a sincere and devoted friend. Their interests and welfare, next to the members of his own family, were ever uppermost in his mind. They were always at liberty to draw on his time and attention, and on his goodness of heart. This Board also has lost a member whose intentions were always upright—whose aims were always true to the best interests of education—whose judgment was always sound and reliable, and whose advice, given invariably with frankness, was 'a light to our feet and a lamp to our path,' in the discharge of our official duties. We regard his death as a public calamity. Who shall worthily fill his place? 'Time may cover his tomb with moss and wild flowers, but it will always be associated with those pleasant recollections which gather around the shade of departed virtue.'"

But Mr. Barstow's interest was not confined to his immediate vicinity. He loved his country as well as the state of his adoption. He was a patriot. With

him the word *patriot* was invested with weight and responsibility. He had a kind of Roman loyalty to the institutions of his native land. He loved his whole country. His sympathies and his intellect were broad. Though born and reared in the south-west part of New York, he could look with kindest interest on the granite hills of New England and on the sunny plains of the Carolinas. Whether of the Puritan or Huguenot lineage, he could see good in all. A sense of duty, a desire to secure the greatest good of the greatest number, seemed to check in him those one-sided and illiberal tendencies which spoil the growth of feebler minds. He loved his country better than his own popularity, or any sectional interest.

Was it symmetrical endowment, or right culture, or instinctive wisdom, or a judgment matured by painful observation, that made him say: "Let us beware that we seek not our own notoriety rather than the general good, in noisy public efforts; and content ourselves with the appearance of virtue, without feeling its power in our hearts. Virtue, let us remember, is never the product or the result of mere outward appliances. It belongs to the internal, not to the external man. It refers to God and universal humanity, and not to the tyranny or caprice of public or party opinion." Some of his words I hesitate to quote, lest, by their intense

truthfulness and their prophetic pointing, they should impair the unity and harmony that pervade this mournful scene.

"There can be no doubt," he says, "that much of the tendency of ultraism, which it is acknowledged forms one of the most striking characteristics of our times, is mainly to be attributed to the influence of organizations."

"Each body has some one leading idea or purpose upon which it is based, which gives color to all its proceedings, and direction to all its efforts. The constant habit of dwelling upon this ; the excitement and exaggeration produced by contact at public meetings ; that *esprit du corps*, which begins insensibly but efficiently to work upon its members ; all have a tendency to narrow the mind, by concentrating all its powers on a single object ; and the form of error induced is the more difficult to combat because of the element of truth it contains. Thus," he adds, "the demagogueism of association becomes a powerful instrument in exciting to extreme measures and giving birth to extreme opinions. Moderateness fears to be accused of lukewarmness : the caution of the wise is overcome ; and the movement progresses until the ultraist, no longer capable of seeing the true relations of things, loses sight of all moral distinctions."

Yet, with all his discrimination, he was an ardent lover of American liberty. He believed that the great principle of our own times, the tendency to social and political equality, was calculated to work the mightiest revolutions on the face of society, and to assert at last "the long lost rights of humanity, in the reconstruction of its institutions, upon the broad basis of equal rights and a common brotherhood."

If, in his writings or his character, he seemed to have too high a reverence for the men of a former generation, and for long established precedent settling the principles of the great charter of our liberties, let us remember that those men drop one by one into the grave, and that the evils from which our nation has most to fear, lie not in the stability or the ideas of its original constitution.

Mr. Barstow was a philanthropist. "Go with me," he says, "to the squalid abode of poverty and vice; and there contemplate a human being, the most vile and degrading that humanity will permit. Ignorance, vice, disease and poverty have made him all their own. He lies upon a heap of rags; Intemperance stands by his pillow; and in his face are demon passions. Will you turn from him in disgust? Remember that the wretch before you has within, a principle that can never die. On that livid brow, God has stamped his

own image ; and, by the bonds of a common creation and a common destiny, he is your brother."

With such sentiments, can any one be surprised that he was the friend of the poor, the outcast, and the orphan ? If any one intellectual conviction, more than another, contributed to deepen this tendency in him, it was the low estimate he placed upon wealth for any other purpose than its uses. He had a horror of avarice, and of what he called the "miserable god of money changers." This was the more surprising, because he was constantly in the market-place, and his business transactions were not inconsiderable. It was with a kind of indignant outburst he would exclaim, "Wealth is coming to be valued higher than intellect or honesty ; and shall the depth of a man's purse determine the height of his aristocratic pretensions ?"

He believed that "the worship of wealth is the most degrading of human idolatries. The spirit that traverses the earth for gold, and sends hundreds of thousands to the El Dorado of the Pacific, though it make railroads, invent telegraphs, and navigate the ocean by steam ; though it multiply its inventions, and astonish by the number, variety and infinity of its appliances ; though it create States in a day, and with magic rapidity, if wanting in the moral element, furnishes,

with all its boasted progress, no security for the ultimate happiness or the real advancement of the race."

Yet his views on this point, decided as they were and strongly expressed, were not Utopian. He was alive to all the blessings of an advanced material civilization. He knew that the passion for accumulation furnished valuable incentives to action; that it is the parent often of many virtues; that it imposes, at times, upon the appetites, very desirable restraints, and is not unfrequently the handmaid to science, literature, and art. But, when addressing men of his own age, he could not refrain from saying, "Never let wealth be the ruling object of your desire. If it once becomes so, every dollar that swells your gains will steal a treasure from your heart."

What he was, as a friend, cannot be told. What, as a man, has already appeared in his generous impulses, and in his decided acts. To say that he had many friends, would be superfluous in the presence of such an audience. Nor, would any ordinary language extravagantly depict the strength of the attachment he generally kindled. The truth is, he was an earnest, candid, reliable, right-minded man. And there were those who could appreciate the almost poetic ardor with which he cleaved to what was pure and elevated, and shrank from meanness or dishonor; and solid and

permanent friendships were the result. I do not feel called upon to allude to his high standing in his profession : the members of the Bar have expressed their estimate of his talents and fidelity, in a way which there is every reason to believe was but just to his memory. But I must not close even this imperfect outline, without adverting to his relations to a cause which he considered sacred above all others ; and for which he believed no one could have too profound a respect. I refer particularly to his religious views and aims. He revered Christianity. He had studied, with great care, its external and internal evidences. He, uniformly, defended it, when attacked in his presence ; he never gave a public lecture, without advocating its claims. "Thanks be unto God," he says, in his address before the New England Society, that "the light of immortality shone upon the deck of the Mayflower ; that faith in God, and in the life to come, caused the little church of Robinson to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia. No human activities are so intense ; no human forces so invincible ; no human energies so sublime in endurance, so mighty in achievement, as those which spring from that deep fountain of religious feeling, planted by the Almighty in the heart of man." By such feeling was his own heart stirred, again and again, and to its inner-

most depths. A tremulous motion agitated his lips, whenever he spoke of his obligations to the Almighty. And, more than once, has he been unable to command his emotions when alluding to the special claims of Jesus Christ to the homage of the human soul. Especially affected was he when announcing his intention to make, before many weeks should elapse, a public profession of his faith in the Savior. Why he delayed it so long, I am not able to say. He may have had infirmities of nature, known only to himself and to God. The high standard which, with his active ideality, he had formed of what a Christian ought to be, may have deterred him from calling himself a disciple of Jesus. He may have had doubts, which his intellect could not dispel; fears, which his heart could not allay; temptations, which his will did not subdue. He may not have apprehended the doctrine and power of the Atonement, or that Christ came to seek and to save that which was lost. But there is reason to believe that, before he was taken sick, he had learned the meaning of the words, "Lord, have mercy on me, a sinner." Had he lived, he would have shown his sense of that mercy at the communion table. In the simplicity of a trembling faith, he would have obeyed the injunction of the mournful hour, and done the commandment in remembrance of Christ. And what

an earnest and useful servant of the Redeemer might he not have made. With his warm affections, discriminating intellect, large experience, sensitive conscience, indomitable energy, and abounding charity, I can conceive of him, had he been spared, as representing the disciple whom Jesus loved. Generosity would have distinguished his dealings; correctness, his deportment; simplicity and increase, his faith. Had but a few months of life on earth been granted to him, I think you would have seen an approximation to this. But those months he was not permitted to behold in this world. Not even his dying thoughts was he allowed to speak. God took him when his senses were locked in the profoundest repose. But a few hours after he was fatally attacked, he ceased to hold any communion with the outward world. What transpired in his inner spirit, during that period of apparent stupor, is known only to Him, "whose ways are not as our ways." He may have had communications such as are not vouchsafed to men on earth, and such as it is not lawful for them to utter. What resistance he made to rescue himself from the fetters of disease; what supplications went up from him, unto Him who hath power to make alive, we know not. But we have reason to believe that, at some period of that struggle, he apprehended, in the greatness of its meaning, that

"no man hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit, neither hath he power in the day of death."

And thus Samuel Barstow departed this life, July the twelfth, eighteen hundred and fifty-four, at three o'clock in the afternoon, aged only forty years.

"Leaves have their time to fall,
And flowers to wither, at the north wind's breath;
And stars to set; but all —
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death!"

What our departed friend would have said, viewing life only from its earthly plane, we now know. He would have said, as he did: "Would you fit man for self-government, and have Hope stand over his dying bed, plant in his bosom the pure principles of Christian morality."

And think you — now that he has entered other scenes; now that, not being able to retain the spirit, the spirit has taken him into realms which flesh and blood do not inherit, that he would have urged with any less solemnity, that last injunction in his address delivered before the Young Men's Society—"Act in view of that great hereafter, to which we are all hastening?"

In view of this sad scene, its antecedents, its results, and its augmented portent, as among the first-fruits of the Pestilence, the voice says cry. Yet, what shall we cry? Unto you, O men, I call! By

more than an ordinary admonition are we rebuked. If to return in old age to the dust, proclaims that "all flesh is as grass;" if to witness a form in manly beauty laid low, attests, that "the glory thereof is as the flowers of the grass;" how shall we interpret the vision of active intellect and vigorous health prostrated in a few short hours, and by a disease walking in the darkness, unless as a special summons from the Author of the primeval malediction?

By this event are we reminded, not only that man must die, but that he may be called at any moment to depart, and with neither time nor strength to prepare for so great a change. There is reason to believe that the exit of many from this life will be sudden beyond any preconceived expectation. Not only without the ordinary antecedents of protracted sickness, but without even a premonition of their danger, are the sons of men now hurried towards the regions of death; and, with surprise unabated, find themselves amidst the realities of eternity. Behold, I come quickly, saith the voice, that once affirmed, I must work the work of Him that sent me, while it is day. By the rapidly advancing night that stimulated even the world's Redeemer, do, then, with your might, whatsoever your hands shall find to do, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh.

AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED

Before the New England Society of Michigan,

AT DETROIT, DEC. 22, 1851,

BY SAMUEL BARSTOW.

THE contemplation of great achievements kindles in the soul the love of true glory ;—the noble deeds of a worthy ancestry, furnish to posterity the highest incentives to virtue.

The heart of Greece, even in the days of her degeneracy, was stirred into more vigorous life, at the remembrance of the glories of Marathon and Salamis.

Among all nations, and in every age, the orator's most effective means to re-illuminate the drooping flame of patriotism, the poet's most potent spell to electrify the heart of a people, has been an appeal to that sentiment in the heart of man, which thrills at the recital

of national and ancestral glories, and is kindled into a noble flame of emulation by the contemplation of the toils, the sufferings, the virtues, and the achievements of the founders of nations and the benefactors of their race.

It is therefore beneath the influence of no vulgar pride of ancestry, that the sons of New England are accustomed to celebrate the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, and, at each return of this memorable day, to recall the history, and to do justice to the virtues, of the founders of New England.

And, if on these occasions, when our hearts are filled with gratitude in view of the noble heritage of freedom bequeathed to us by the Puritan and the Pilgrim, we delight to dwell upon their virtues rather than their faults ; to indulge in well-considered panegyrics, rather than cold criticisms ; to contemplate those grand characteristics, and those high principles, which enabled these men to carve, in characters so deep and eternal, their impress on the world's history, rather than to cavil at inconsistencies which are incident to the frailty of man ; surely we shall have with us the sympathies of every truly noble spirit ; of every heart not filled with the bitter waters of partizanship.

On the twenty-second day of December, two hun-

dred and thirty-one years ago, a small vessel, scarcely larger than the least of the schooners which navigate these inland seas, might have been seen lying at anchor upon the waters of one of those bays with which the coast of New England is indented. A wintry sky, a rock-bound coast, crowned with primeval forests, the war of ocean lashed by the northern blast, were accompaniments of the scene.

A few days previous, after a long and tempestuous voyage, the eyes and the hearts of the little band congregated on the solitary vessel, had been gladdened by the sweet prospect of land; and on that day, a detachment from the number, amidst snow and sleet, had planted their feet on the rock of Plymouth, and selected the site of their home in the New World.

What had brought this storm-tossed bark to that remote and solitary shore? Who were that little band—one hundred and one souls in all, men, women, and children—of self-exiled emigrants? What had been their past history? What cause had driven them from their native land, and the homes of their fathers? What sought they amidst these desolate wilds? What faith sustained, what principles guided, what hopes cheered them?

A full answer to these questions would involve the history of modern liberty, and the discussion of those

causes which lie at the foundation of the growth, prosperity, and happiness of our country ; a task far beyond my limited powers. And yet there is something in these noble themes so full of hope for humanity, so soul-stirring and inspiring, so calculated to awaken noble thoughts, and to kindle high and pure aspirations, that, however imperfectly presented, they cannot fail to command the attention, and deeply to interest the feelings, of every friend of humanity.

That solitary vessel was the *Mayflower* ; and she had crossed the ocean, bearing the precious freight of civil and religious liberty. That little band were English Puritans, whom religious persecution had driven from their homes. They sought, amid these distant solitudes, a place to worship God unawed by fear of man—a theatre for the development of principles, which, taking root upon the virgin soil of America, here spread, until a continent has not been able to limit their influence ; and which seem destined to shelter the liberties of the world.

The Puritan was the precursor of the Pilgrim ; and the full import of the scene we have thus briefly sketched cannot be understood without referring to those causes which gave birth to Puritanism, and those principles which, in their final result, have secured to the people of England a Constitutional

Monarchy, and to these United States, social, civil, and religious institutions, beneath which their growth and progress have distanced the visions of the wildest imagination.

The discovery of America by Columbus, the invention of printing, and the Reformation, are the three grand epochs of modern history—only excelled in importance by the advent of our Savior and the introduction of Christianity. And there is something in the relation which these great events bear to each other, which would seem to the devout mind to testify the intervention of an over-ruling Providence.

The Reformation secured to man the right to think. The art of Printing gave to him the materials for thought; while the New World, just opened to his view, furnished a vast theatre for the exercise of his newly awakened powers; a fresh field, unencumbered by the rubbish of worn-out institutions, where newly discovered truth might embody itself in social and political forms, which should not only secure the right of man to think, and to know, but be capable, in their expansion, of adapting themselves to the wants of the most advanced civilization, and the most widely diffused liberty.

Long previous to Luther, Wickliffe had asserted the right of man to think for himself, upon a subject of all

others of deepest import to humanity ; but his voice had been smothered by the ignorance of the times in which he lived. Between his age and that of Luther, the revival of learning and the increased diffusion of ideas, consequent upon the invention of printing, had created an audience fit for the soul-inspiring words of the great Reformer ; and the voice of the Augustine Monk of Wittenburg re-echoed through Europe, shook the Vatican, and thrilled the hearts of millions with the sublime consciousness that God could be approached by man without a human intercessor.

The religious principle in man is not only the most universal, but the most profound and intense of his nature.

Philosophy has questioned the existence of a supernatural world ; but history teems with proofs that its influence, as a great living fact, upon the vast popular masses, has been transcendent, and that it has furnished the basis upon which have been erected most stupendous systems of tyranny. Despotism has ever found in the abuse of this divine principle, the most effective instrument for enslaving the human mind. The ancient eastern despotisms, by means of this, consolidated their vast systems of centralized power ; and Asia, the most populous continent on the globe, even now groans beneath the crushing weight of reli-

gious systems which, for thousands of years, have paralyzed her intellect, and enslaved the minds of her teeming millions.

Impelled by an irresistible instinct to seek a solution of the mysterious enigma of human life, surrounded by evidences of unseen power and conscious of weakness and of guilt, man, in his search after a faith, has sunk into slavery, and, in his desire to propitiate Heaven, has surrendered himself to intellectual bondage.

The power of imposing upon man a religious faith, involves the right to tyrannize over his understanding, and to check the development of the race.

Intellectual freedom cannot coexist with religious despotism, nor can free institutions spring amid an atmosphere poisoned and corrupted by the blasphemous breath of man, claiming, by divine right, to impose a faith upon his fellow man.

It is only by keeping those facts in view, that a correct estimate can be formed of the importance of the blow aimed by Luther, with so much effect, at the religious system which had so long tyrannized over Europe. In no other way can we realize the full import of that bright and blissful Reformation, which, in the eloquent words of Milton, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and anti-christian

tyranny, and caused the sweet odor of the returning Gospel to embathe the soul with the fragrance of Heaven.

Christianity, the most sublime and the most simple of religious faiths, had in its origin set at naught those distinctions of rank, and those claims to spiritual power, to which the world had so long been accustomed to bow. It passed by the Sanhedrim and the High Priest, to select its apostles from the lower walks of life ; from fishermen and publicans.

It had, besides, recognized the right of the human intellect in matters of faith, by furnishing to the world a divinely inspired written constitution, adapted to human reason and addressed to individual man. But even this divine system was soon tortured into an engine of tyranny ; and, side by side, often at variance, but yet mutually supporting each other, upon the ruins of Roman and Christian liberty, arose those vast systems of spiritual and temporal despotism which for so many centuries paralyzed the human intellect, or confined its activities to the barren dialectics and laborious follies of scholasticism.

It is no doubt true that Europe never sank into the servile and hopeless slavery of the eastern despotisms. A variety of causes prevented this. The diversity of her political and social elements ; the free instincts of

the northern hordes who overran the Roman empire ; the spirit of ancient liberty taking refuge amid the turbulent activity of free municipalities ; the influence of the feudal system, opposed as it was to that tendency to centralization which has ever proved so fatal to the rights of man and the progress of nations ; and, above all, the divine spirit of Christianity itself, whose ennobling and emancipating influences no perversion could utterly destroy ; all these combined to relieve the crushing weight of spiritual power, and to preserve those seeds of liberty which sprung forth so gloriously under the culture of the Reformers.

And yet at the commencement of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the discovery of Columbus had awakened the spirit of commercial enterprise, and the invention of printing had given a mighty stimulus to the human intellect ; notwithstanding the genius of Dante had enriched Italian literature with its noblest production, and Art had achieved some of its sublimest triumphs under the munificent patronage of Leo III., causes were in operation which seemed to threaten the entire extinction of civil and intellectual liberty.

The feudal system had succumbed to the predominant power of monarchy ; standing armies had taken the place of the feudal militia, and for the spirit of

chivalry had been substituted the arts of policy and the machinations of priestly intrigue.

Two vast consolidated systems, mutually jealous of, and yet necessary to, each other, had acquired a commanding influence over all other social and political elements. Monarchy, with its standing armies, on the one hand, the Church, holding in its hands the eternal destinies of man, and asserting a divine infallibility, on the other, seemed to threaten, by their combined action, the entire submission of the last relics of her free institutions. Nothing but a blow struck at the very foundation principles of these vast systems, could suffice to rescue Europe from its perilous condition.

But the seeds of truth, silently deposited by the Word of God, had taken root, and were gradually expanding in the heart of the social system. The time for the new birth had at last come, and Luther struck the blow which, like earthquake shocks, reverberated through Europe.

Language cannot exaggerate the importance of that great event. To say that it gave birth to modern liberty is but a feeble expression. It would be more proper to say that it indicated the principles upon which all true freedom rests—the right of private judgment in matters of faith—the prerogative of the

soul with unfettered wing to cleave the highest heaven of truth—the equality of man based on his immortality.

Ancient liberty was but the supremacy of a class. English liberty, before the time of the Puritans, was but a matter of disputed precedent. It sought with laborious care, 'mid time-worn records, for evidences of royal concessions, and based itself upon no higher principles than the customs of the realm. Even to this day, a class of writers of no mean celebrity, deem it worth their while to weary their readers as to whether the people of England were qualified, by precedent and law, by royal grants and charters, in resisting the attempt on the part of the Stuarts to establish a despotism like that of Louis the Fourteenth. There is, and probably ever will be, a class of minds that seek thus to measure human rights by musty precedents drawn from the records of a monkish age.

Christianity has placed them on higher grounds, and the Reformation vindicated and restored Christianity.

I have said the Puritan was the precursor of the Pilgrim. They were both the offspring of the Reformation.

When Luther restored the Bible to the common people, and asserted the doctrine of justification by

faith, he announced principles which, developed under the peculiar circumstances of English history, produced the Puritan, overturned her monarchy, and planted free institutions in this New World.

The Reformation in England originated with the Court, and not the people. It was not so much the result of the adoption, by her people, of the principles and faith of the Reformers, as of causes connected with her foreign policy and the passions of her king.

Henry the Eighth asserted the independence of the English Church, with the view of vesting in the English crown the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. Retaining all the peculiar doctrines of the papal creed, he boldly conceived the plan of erecting on their basis a spiritual power, which, united with the temporal, should make the kings of England the most despotic monarchs in Europe.

This great leading feature of the English Reformation must be carefully kept in view, if we would correctly understand the history of religious parties in that country, from his time down to the Revolution of sixteen hundred and eighty-eight. This idea continued to be a favorite one with his successors; and although in the time of Elizabeth, protestant principles had taken deep root in England, and the articles of the English Church contained all the great essen-

tial doctrines of the Reformation, yet that arbitrary princess sought so to mould its policy, to control its rites and ceremonies, and to assert the royal prerogative in matters of religion, as to enable her, in carrying out the policy of her father, to make the spiritual power of the Church an instrument for extending the royal prerogative, and her clergy the promulgators of the despotic doctrines of non-resistance and divine right.

The act of uniformity, passed the first year of her reign, was most rigorously enforced against all who departed in the slightest degree from its requirements. This act vested in the Crown an absolute control over the rites, ceremonies, and forms of worship of the English Church.

During the reign of Mary, large numbers of the most learned and pious ministers of the Church of England, fled to the continent, for refuge from the bloody persecutions of this bigoted queen; and during their residence there, had studied the doctrines of the Reformation, as taught in the schools of Calvin and Zuingle. From their places of refuge, they heard, with mingled horror and indignation, of the fires of Smithfield and the cruel persecutions of their brethren.

It is not to be wondered at, that hatred of the papacy should become with them a passion. Accus-

tomed to the simple forms of worship adopted by the protestant churches in Holland and Switzerland, they had acquired an abhorrence of those gorgeous rites and ceremonies, which, in their view, were opposed to true spiritual religion, and made the instruments of priestly tyranny.

Deeming the Bible the sole rule of faith and practice, addressed by God to individual man, they regarded with jealousy all attempts of the temporal power to control the conscience in matters of faith.

The English Church, on the contrary, had preserved the fabric of the hierarchy and the distinctions of the priestly office. It had adopted a liturgy and preserved many rites and ceremonies which, however different in spirit, were analogous in form, to the old system. It was, besides, united with the state, and vested in the sovereign, as its legal head, an absolute control over its forms of worship.

It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that these men, on their return to England, should resist the authority of the Crown and brave the penalties of the Court of High Commission, or that persecution drove them from a church which required of them the observance of forms which they had accustomed themselves to consider badges of a tyranny, which it had been the great end of the Reformation to overthrow ;

or that common dangers and sufferings should kindle the spirit of resistance to tyranny, and should finally organize them together with all who sympathized with their opinions, into a sect in the Church — a party in the State. It is but a superficial view that resolves this great religious contest, fraught with consequences so momentous, into a mere resistance to forms, in themselves indifferent.

Man is so constituted, that what is external in religion necessarily moulds and modifies its spiritual character. The genius of a religion is embodied in its forms. The connection between this physical frame and the immortal spirit, which inhabits it, is not more intimate than that which exists between the external structure of a religious system, and its spiritual and intellectual tendencies. Gorgeous ceremonies, which address themselves to the senses, affect the imagination more than the heart; while, on the other hand, the entire absence of all that is impressive in its appeals to the senses, not unfrequently resolves religion into cold speculation and barren intellectuality. In religion, nothing is indifferent. The Puritans but too well understood that the right asserted by the Kings of England, to modify at pleasure the forms of public worship, involved a power to control the religious faith of the people, which might in the end result

in the re-introduction of Popery ; and, in resisting it, they but asserted the right of conscience, and the great principle of religious liberty. Without being themselves aware of the final result of this resistance, or the important bearing it was destined to have upon the doubtful conflict for civil liberty, which was just at hand, they resisted the claims of Elizabeth to impose rites and ceremonies of worship, as being at war with the right of conscience, and having a tendency to restore the spiritual tyranny of ages.

It is not my intention to enter into the particulars of this contest, or to express an opinion as to the merits of many disputed questions to which it has given rise. That there was much fanatic zeal on the one hand, and of arrogant pretension on the other, is not to be doubted. Such is the history of all those contests in which opposing political or religious systems contend for the mastery.

Human passions and human weakness not unfrequently deform the noblest cause ; and he reads history but superficially, who penetrates no deeper than the moving, effervescing, and tumultuous surface, without comprehending the deep, clear, and silent current of principle, which, with resistless force, and undisturbed by the tumult of opposing currents on the surface, rushes straight onward in its predestined course.

This much, however, is certain, and the verdict of posterity will, I think, forever sustain it, that in this great contest the Puritans asserted the true principles of Protestant Christianity, against claims which, if not identical with, were analogous to, those which had for so many centuries crushed religious liberty beneath the assumptions of an infallible church, and paralyzed freedom by the slavish doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.

It would be unjust to the great body of the Church of England of that day, to say that it was purely a contest between that Church, as a spiritual body, and the Puritans. Cartwright, and many other of the leading spirits among the Puritans, lived and died in the communion of the English church; and the great principles of the Reformation have found few abler or more eloquent defenders than some of the divines of the Episcopal Church, both in England and in our own country. It was rather a conflict between royal power, seeking to build up prerogative by investing itself with the power of controlling the faith and worship of the people, and the principles of the Reformation as embraced by all true protestants, whether within or without the Established Church. It involved principles ever of the deepest interest to man, and of peculiar interest to us as Americans; for out of it

have been evolved those moral elements which have entered so deeply into the structure of our institutions.

The date of the existence of the Puritans as a separate body, is usually placed at fifteen hundred and sixty-seven. From that period to the day on which the fathers of New England, from the deck of the Mayflower, looked forth on the shores of the New World, a period of fifty-three years had elapsed, during which the most rigorous measures had been persisted in to enforce religious uniformity and exterminate this pestilent faction.

But notwithstanding all the efforts of the Crown— notwithstanding the Press was shackled and the worship of God restrained — the religious principles of the Puritans, and their love for civil liberty, had taken deep root in the earnest sub-stratum of English character, and had diffused themselves very widely among the great masses of the English people.

Persecution had produced its usual results, when directed against an earnest, religious faith. It intensified that love of religious liberty, which it could not destroy, and made more earnest that faith, which claimed for itself the sanction of Heaven.

Truth cannot be coerced ; the arm of despotism is too short to strike down a faith, that, taking root in

the conscience and the heart, turns to the throne of the Most High, and appeals to Heaven itself as its trust and its avenger.

There is no limit to the power of religious enthusiasm, stirred into intense action by persecution, and appealing to God against the injustice of man. No human activities are so intense; no human forces so invincible; no human energies so sublime in endurance, so mighty in achievement; as those which spring from that deep fountain of religious feeling planted by the Almighty in the heart of man, when stirred to its profounder depths.

Principles which take hold on eternity and immortality are the levers with which to move the world. For fifty-three years this mighty power had been accumulating among the English people; and in less than thirty more, it shivered her ancient monarchy to atoms, asserted her sovereignty on the seas, and her dignity among the nations of the earth, and sowed broad and deep those principles of freedom which, combining with the elements of her ancient institutions, have finally secured to her people a Constitutional Monarchy.

A portion of this mighty energy was incarnate among the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. What wonder that the forests of New England swayed beneath its

breath ; that the soil of New England bloomed beneath its culture. What wonder that it awoke the mountain echoes with the pæans of liberty, and made her valleys resound with songs of praise ; or, that the tree of liberty, moistened by its tears and blessed by its prayers, taking root in this tenacious soil, should send aloft its broad branches to the highest heavens, sheltering an ocean-bound land, the hope of the world, the refuge of oppressed humanity.

Ten thousand fleets have tracked the bosom of the mighty deep, decked with all the pomp and power of war gorgeous with the spoils of conquest, the wealth of commerce, and enriching her breezes with the spicy perfumes of the East ; but, from the time the Grecian Argonauts bent to the laboring oar in search of Colchis and her Golden Fleece, the breast of Ocean has not borne up a richer freight, than that brought by this storm-tossed vessel to that solitary shore. No titled noble trod the deck ; no regal charter gave countenance to her high emprise ; but God was with her amid the stormy deep, and in His presence, and working His blessing, her pilgrim band had entered into a compact of civil government, of more worth than all the royal charters the great seal of England ever authenticated.

The Grecian colonies were mere military migra-

tions, which, it is true, dotted the shores of the Egean and Mediterranean seas, with cities whose arts and arms reflected the glories of their mother states ; but the restless activity in which they originated contained no element of expansive growth. The Roman colonies were but military posts, established to cement her power over conquered nations.

Trade and commerce have been the exciting causes, as well as the ultimate end, of most of the colonization of modern times. The East Indies, as well as the most tropical regions of our own continent, by the rich products of their sunny soils, and the exhaustless wealth of their teeming mines, have attracted the cupidity of nations, and led to the establishment of colonies, based upon no higher principle than the love of adventure and the passion for gain. But thanks be to that God, in whose hands are the destinies of nations, that our country was settled under the influences of nobler principles ; that the light of immortality shone upon the deck of the Mayflower ; that conscience, seeking refuge from the persecution of the Stuarts, religious liberty asserting the rights of the human intellect, here came to establish their altars ; that the sublimest principles that can stir the heart and stimulate the mind—faith in God and in the life to come, and in the rights of man — stirred to intensest action

by oppression, by exile, and by suffering, caused the little church of Robinson, as they have themselves expressed it, in that immortal compact entered into in the Mayflower, on the eleventh day of November, sixteen hundred and twenty, for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia.

I shall not attempt to sketch anterior events, world-wide in their fame, and familiar as household words to every son of New England.

That little church in Lincolnshire—the flight to Holland—the residence of eleven years at Leyden—the embarkations at Delfthaven, after a night spent in prayer and friendly converse with their beloved pastor, upon whose venerable face they gazed for the last time—the parting scene, when Brewster, and Carver, and Winslow and Standish, with their little band, amid sobs and tears, bade farewell to Holland, while Robinson, kneeling in prayer upon the ocean's strand, invoked the blessing of Heaven upon their perilous enterprise—all those belong to history, and will live in the memories of men, when sculptured marbles and granite columns shall have crumbled into dust.

A portion of that little band, blessed by the prayers of Robinson, whose character rises before us with surpassing beauty from the lively records of the past,

now gazed upon the shores of the New World; and by the hasty retrospect we have taken, we may discover the moral elements which gave dignity to the scene, hastily sketched in the opening of this address, and which we this day celebrate — a scene in itself so destitute of all those external accompaniments, which impress the imagination, and give promise of great results.

A vessel of about one hundred and eighty tons burden, containing one hundred and one men, women, and children, from the middle classes of English life, without resources, without wealth, exiles and refugees, amid the freezing atmosphere of a northern winter, approached the shores of an unexplored continent, and floated upon its unfrequented waters. Her little band of passengers, surrounded by icy desolation, amidst unsurpassed sufferings and hardships, proceed to build rude huts to shelter their wives and children from the pitiless blast; and there, amid those inhospitable wilds, surrounded by savages, exposed to all the inclemency of nature in those northern latitudes, in three short months, they bury half their number, leveling the graves to conceal their weakness from the tribes of the wilderness.

Our compassions are excited; we are moved to tears, by the contemplation of such miseries. We

wonder what oppressions or crimes have driven these poor wanderers to this sad extremity — why Europe has thus cast them forth to die.

But behold the sublimity of truth! — the power of faith! — the supremacy of moral causes !

This poor covering of external power contained the germ of freedom to the world. These men were the founders of Empire. The New World is even now vibrating to its inmost extremity, beneath the tread of the Pilgrim; its mountain echoes are just ready to become vocal with the busy hum of populous nations; its forests tremble to their fall, and the northern blast that passes their dwellings, as it rushes through the forests and over the prairies of this vast continent, sings triumphant anthems to the stars.

Citizens of the Republic thus founded, it is ours to contemplate the result of these principles, as developed upon the theatre prepared by God for their reception; a theatre worthy the sublime and glorious scenes which, during a period of nearly two and a half centuries, have been enacted upon it; marked out by nature as the seat of Empire, and impressed by the finger of the Almighty with ideas of vastness and sublimity.

Anything like a historical sketch of this development, is not within the scope of this address. As the

mind glances over the past, a rapid succession of important and interesting events is presented.

We see the infant colony, slowly, amid severe and continued difficulties and sufferings, laying deep its foundations in the rocky soil; increasing in population by successive emigrations from the persecutions of the House of Stuart, and gradually extending its settlements over the adjacent forests. We trace the rise and progress of those municipal and local institutions, which made every settlement a little Republic, and which constitute the elementary principle of American freedom.

We see the glorious galaxy of New England colonies emerge into existence, one after another, like planets in heaven at the approach of night. We hear the forests ring with the voices of Hooker and his little band, on their way to the beautiful valley of the Connecticut, there to lay the foundations of a pure Republic.

We witness the co-equal growth of religious and civil institutions, each reflecting strength and beauty on the other, and, in their combination, securing to man a liberty sustained by law; a religion enfranchised by the spirit of freedom.

We trace the growth of towns and cities, and the successive encroachments of Christian civilization

upon the forests. We see industry covering the earth with harvests; enterprise whitening the ocean with the sails of infant commerce; liberty planting the seeds of future independence, and religion crowning every hill-top, and decorating every valley with her altars.

We observe, with deep interest, a determined and continuous resistance to the encroachments of the British Crown, and perceive the embryo of this great confederation, in the combinations to which that resistance led. And thus, following the stream of history through scenes of surpassing interest, amid the immortal struggles of the revolutionary contest, along blood-stained battle fields, at last the towering battlements of the "American Constitution" burst upon our sight, and a mighty nation rises before us. A nation composed of thirty States and twenty-five millions of inhabitants; free, enterprising, and intelligent; a nation ocean-bound, vast; whose years are centuries, if measured by the ordinary progress of States; whose institutions, while they bless her own people with rational liberty, offer protection to the oppressed of all nations, and diffuse through the world an influence friendly to the dearest rights of man.

How wonderful is this history; how surpassing conception the progress of our country; and how is

every step of that progress illustrated by the character and principles of the men who settled New England.

Without derogating from the just claims of the other colonies, it may with truth be said that, for the most essential and valuable features of our institutions, social, civil, and religious,—the most effective elements of our national character,—we are indebted to the Puritan.

This influence has not been confined to New England. It has not only made her barren rocks and bleak mountains to smile, but it has scattered beauty and fertility over our whole country. Everywhere, as we look around us, may be seen germs planted by those men, developed into life, beauty and power; and as the statesman contemplates the future destinies of our country, where, but in the great moral elements of the Puritan character, will he discover the best guarantees for the permanence of our institutions, and the perpetuation of our liberties.

The influences which have gone out from New England, at every period of our history, have been most effective. Of the part she took in the revolutionary drama, it is unnecessary to speak. Her own distinguished orator, the intellectual luminary of his age, has vindicated her fame. On her soil was shed the first blood of the Revolution.

While the Royalist element was strong in most of the other colonies, the population of New England, almost to a man, placed their treasure and their blood at the disposal of their country.

The old Puritan spirit, which had made Cromwell and his "Ironsides" invincible, dwelt in the breasts of her hardy peasantry. The fire of freedom that glowed in the breasts of Hampden and Sydney, found a responsive flame in the hearts of her Warren, her Hancock, and her Adams; and the House of Hanover, in its attempts to violate the freedom of the American colonies, found in the descendants of the little band of pilgrims, whom, one hundred and fifty years before, England had ejected from her shores, the same indomitable spirit, intense love of liberty, heroic fortitude, and invincible daring, that hurled the House of Stuart from the English throne, and baptised liberty in royal blood.

The statesmen of New England, representing every state in the Union, have vindicated her fame in the councils of our country. Her orators have thrilled the American heart with strains of eloquence, which shall electrify unborn generations. Her historians and her poets have adorned our literature with noble productions, and the institutions of learning planted by her founders, have drawn to her academic groves the

young men of our country, and have diffused, to its utmost extremities, the light of science, and the benign influence of letters.

Her invention has ransacked nature in its search after usefulness to man, and annihilated distance by creating a power which circles the earth in far less time than the dainty spirit, summoned by Prospero's magic wand, from the world of the imagination. Her enterprise, her public spirit and enlarged and liberal benevolence, are exhibited in every department in life. In our commerce, whose "white-winged wanderers of the deep" enliven the most distant seas. In the mighty march of civilization upon our western forests; in our most gigantic undertakings; in the establishment of colleges and seminaries of learning, and all those great benevolent enterprises, which have for their object the diffusion of christian faith, christian civilization, and christian liberty, throughout the world.

A brief reference to a few of the more important and comprehensive items of this debt of gratitude must be permitted.

And, first, the township—at once the school and the innermost citadel of liberty—was but the natural development of the religious system of the Pilgrims; a system which not only recognized the individual

freedom of man, but his right to form independent churches.

Such a system could not but develop, to its highest extent, those municipal and local liberties which cause the vital fluid of the state to flow to its extremities, and furnish the indispensable safeguards of all true liberty.

Centralization was the great feature of the Papal system, as it is, and ever has been, of all despotisms ; a system which gorges the heart and maddens the brain, but leaves the extremities cold, lifeless, dead.

To this same source may we trace that sentiment of religion, which is a vital element in American liberty. Religion was the basis of the Puritan character. His love for liberty was but the result of his religious faith. In his view, man, having the dignity of an immortal being, for whose salvation incarnate Deity dwelt upon the earth, was entitled to be free ; but, though free, obedient ; though enfranchised, accountable.

Such a system naturally gave birth to a liberty based on the firm foundations of moral principle, interfused with the ideas of order and of right, which, while it asserted the rights of man, honored the laws of God. Of the importance of this element in our institutions, it is impossible to form too high an estimate.

How different such a liberty as this, from the wild riot of human passions let loose from the restraints of power—from the atheistic carnival of the French Revolution.

The Puritan was a Christian as well as a freeman, and found in the Bible, not only his duty to God, but his rights as a man.

Long may the institutions, which are at once our country's highest boast and greatest happiness, retain this feature, impressed upon them by the Pilgrim fathers of New England.

The Common School is a New England institution. To her Puritan colonies belongs the honor of having first recognized it to be the duty of a free state, to provide for the education of the people.

As early as sixteen hundred and forty-seven, laws existed in all these colonies, providing for the establishment of public schools; and these institutions, thus planted, have gradually extended to most of the other states.

Education is the vital air of a Republic. A free state must educate its people, or perish. It is not institutions that make free men, but free men that make free institutions.

Ignorance is weakness, which is but another name for slavery. Intelligence is strength, and, directed by

virtue, ripens into liberty. Our country possesses no institution so indispensable to its greatness, so vital to its safety, so noble in its ends, so broadly diffused in its blessings, as this glorious bequest of our New England forefathers.

Based upon principles broader than party or sectarian distinctions, and bringing together upon equal grounds the children of the rich and poor, it mitigates the acerbities of parties and sects, tends to destroy all arbitrary distinctions of rank and caste, and to excite the broadest sympathies.

This feature in our common and free schools, is second to none other in importance ; and I can conceive no greater calamity than that they should be made the instruments of cultivating sectarian zeal and fostering sectarian bitterness. The family and the church are the proper and legitimate instrumentalities for imparting to the youthful mind the peculiarities of religious faith.

Religious systems which seek, by education, to enslave the intellect, naturally fear the result of free inquiry. They call all schools infidel that do not inculcate the dogmas of their own creed. They desire to have man educated, not to be a Christian, but a bigot. Let the Bible be the basis of our education, but let the common school be a theatre where intel-

lect is free, where exclusiveness is mitigated, and sympathies and friendships are not bounded by the limits of a creed.

But I must forbear. Enough has already been said, to justify the reverence which every son of New England must ever feel for an ancestry, who united to an earnest religious faith, an ardent love for liberty ; who ennobled labor by associating it with intelligence and virtue ; and who, in asserting the most sacred rights of man, exhibited a moral heroism unsurpassed in the history of the world.

I cannot, however, bring these remarks to a close, without alluding to a feature in their history, to which good-natured critics delight to refer, when, on occasions like this, we are accustomed to indulge in panegyrics they deem to be excessive.

With what justice, these often ask, is it claimed that the first settlers of New England were the vindicators of the most sacred of human rights, when their own annals are stained with persecution ?

The charge is admitted ; the answer is sufficiently obvious. Great principles never burst upon the world in the full maturity of their development. Christianity, more than eighteen centuries ago, asserted the immortal dignity of man, and the sublime principle of universal love ; and yet, within two centuries, the slave

trade has been the prize of competition between christian nations.

Clouds of error which have been gathering for centuries, can only be entirely dispelled by the full blaze of the noon-day sun.

When the Puritans of England asserted for man, the right, with the bible in his hands, to form his own faith, or of any number of men to organize themselves into an independent church, they asserted principles which, whether objectionable or not in some of their tendencies, were as certain to overthrow every form of religious tyranny, as that truth shall, in the end, triumph over error.

The logical result of these principles is, and has been, religious liberty. The genius of Milton, the liberty-loving spirit of Vane, and the clear intellect of Roger Williams, enabled them, in advance of their age, to comprehend the full bearing of these great principles. But the great body of the New England puritans were yet enslaved by the spirit of the age. They asserted for themselves rights, which with gross inconsistency they refused to others. They recognized not the full import of principles, in the maintenance of which they planted religious institutions, which have finally produced their natural result in the entire separation of Church from State, and the most absolute religious liberty.

When Lord Baltimore proclaimed universal toleration in Maryland, it was but the mere accident of his personal character, leading to results directly opposite to his own religious system. It was a boon granted, not a right asserted; and gave to the world no guaranty for the rights of conscience. It was an act which, if protestantism had become extinct in the next half century, would have been unimportant and unnoticed in history. But when the Puritans of New England vindicated for themselves, sanctity of conscience, on grounds as broad and immortal as humanity itself, however inconsistent their own practice, the final result was inevitable as that the rising sun, whose early beams shed from the eastern horizon, are obscured by the mists and clouds of the morning, shall from the zenith inundate the world with floods of light.

We claim for those men no exemption from error; we assert not their freedom from bigotry; we know not and care not, whether many of their dogmas were not false; we fully admit that persecution and suffering had given to their religion a stern and severe character which approached to fanaticism; but we do claim for them, the possession of lofty christian virtues; of the most heroic fortitude; of a faith in God, which permeated their very life; and over all, and above all, we claim for them, the successful assertion of princi-

ples of civil and religious liberty, which are changing the face of the world.

Such, sons of New England, were your ancestors ; such, Americans, the principles upon which the massive pillars of your free institutions rest.

These men lived in the midst of obscurity, toil and suffering ; they died, and no man knoweth the place of their sepulchre ; but they are transfigured in the clear light of history ; and time, that overthrows cloud-capp'd towers and solemn temples, and crumbles to dust the mausoleums of kings, has but just begun to erect the ever enduring monuments of their fame.

THOUGHTS ON HISTORY,

A LECTURE,

Delivered before the Detroit Young Men's Society,

BY

SAMUEL BARSTOW.

A writer, more remarkable for brilliancy than profoundness, has defined "history" to be, "philosophy teaching by example." This definition is alike deficient in clearness and comprehensiveness. The idea it conveys is at once indistinct and narrow. Most attempts of this kind, to reduce to the limits of a philosophical formula subjects of great comprehension and magnitude, tend to perplex rather than to assist the mind, and not unfrequently, as in this very case, give currency to superficial, rather than profound and universal views.

History is not philosophy, neither does the term "*example*" embody or express the whole, or even the most important of its manifold teachings.

Past events of a public or general character, affecting the condition of countries, states, and nations, and illustrating the laws of human progress, form the subject matter of history; and history itself, considered in its general meaning, is that portion of these facts which has been preserved by tradition, or in written records, for the use and instruction of man.

It may be philosophically written—its narratives may be enriched by profound reflections,—there may be, perhaps, such a thing as a true and universal “philosophy of history,” though, thus far, the efforts of the human mind to accomplish it have been far from successful—but nothing can be more dissimilar, from the vast and irregular fabric of history, constructed of the mouldering monuments of an hundred generations, amid whose dimly lighted halls and crumbling vestibules the mind wanders with mingled feelings of admiration and regret, than those more symmetrical, but yet, not unfrequently, unsubstantial structures of human thought, which man has seen fit to dignify with the name of philosophy.

History belongs to nature—it is the development in action of human character—it is to the science of social and political life what the earth, the ocean, and the all-surrounding atmosphere are to physical science—the element out of which, by intellectual

and inductive processes, the mind of man derives that knowledge and acquires that power which enable him to control the elements to his use, and make the past the instructor and guide of the present and future.

Man, "a being of large discourse, looking before and after," is yet insignificant in duration here and limited in the sphere of his observation. Emerging from the abyss of nothingness, to float but for a moment in the bosom of time, and limited by the imperfection of his senses, to a narrow view of the infinite universe in the midst of which he is placed, it is only by his power of treasuring up the past, and availing himself of the observations, discoveries, and labors of those who have gone before him, that he has been enabled to make any considerable progress in the development of his powers, or in the acquisition of knowledge. The individual only becomes learned by the labors of the mass, and the wisdom of successive generations goes to swell the accumulated intellectual wealth of the race. Thus has the human mind achieved its sublime triumphs and successive civilizations; each enriched by the ruins of that which has gone before, have in their rise attested the greatness, and in their fall illustrated the weakness, of man.

History, then, is presented to the mind as a vast field of observation, strewn with the wrecks of em-

pire, covered with the ruins of man's noblest structures, and marred and scathed by the desolations of time and the devastating tempests of human passion, but yet presenting on every hand sublime and noble structures, upon whose marbled fronts immortality is impressed in lines of unfading beauty, and whose majestic forms still wage an eternal war against the ravages of time. Or, rather, as a vast panorama, that in its successive changes exhibits the youth, the manhood, and the age of nations ; the dawn, the noon-day resplendence, and the setting glories of successive social, political, and religious systems ; the march of empire ; the conqueror's career of glory ; the rise and decay of literature, philosophy, and art ; and the ever-varying results of that struggle between man's nobler and his baser nature, which forms the most impressive feature in his history.

These records of the strivings and sufferings of humanity, possess for us (in whatever point of view we consider them,) an intense interest. The aspirations for a something higher and better than that which is possessed—the struggles of the free spirit of man for a more perfect development—those grand and beautiful conceptions which have bodied themselves forth in all the variegated forms of successive civilizations—those immortal thoughts that yet live in ever-enduring

freshness — those mighty empires, whose armed tread yet echoes along the shores of time — the arts, the arms, the literature, the genius, the suffering, the virtue, the passions or the crimes that have adorned or devastated, blessed or cursed, civilized or barbarized our race — all these impart to history a deep power over the human heart, and make it replete with undying interest.

It is not, however, in this, its power of exciting the feeling and kindling the imagination, that its chief value is to be found, though it would be difficult to over-estimate the influence, upon certain developments of the mind, of that vast and varied mass of the picturesque and romantic, the sublime and the terrible, which its moral imagery presents, or to exaggerate the value of the materials it has furnished to the poet and the artist, and out of which genius has created forms of beauty, and eliminated glorious thoughts, which shall forever live, to gladden the heart and enlighten the mind of man.

These, however, are but the poetic and imaginative uses of history, and bear the same relation to its nobler ends that the glories of the setting sun, the beauty of the starry heavens, and the mild radiance of the moonlit sky, bear to the sublime science of the astronomer.

The heart of man thrills beneath the power of beauty, but the immortal mind aspires to follow the footsteps of science into the regions of eternal truth. The imagination revels, amid the luxuriance of Nature; the intellect, with loftier aim, studies to bless mankind with a knowledge of her laws.

Neither am I inclined to place a very high estimate upon the value of historical examples. I am well aware of the importance of this class of influences in common life, and of the immense moral power which the good man exerts upon all who contemplate his actions; but the portrait gallery of history, however interesting as a study, presents but imperfect and unsatisfactory moral lessons. It is true that the annals of the past furnish many noble specimens of character, many striking instances of virtue and patriotism; but it is no less true, that those names which are carved in the deepest characters upon the past, and which in all ages have stirred the heart of man with the mightiest power, have been those of the successful conqueror, the blood-stained usurper, and the aspiring demagogue.

The human mind is so constituted as to be more deeply impressed by those gigantic forms that from time to time have arisen to devastate the earth, to overthrow empire, and to destroy the liberties of man,

than by the sublimest exhibitions of the less dazzling virtues of patriotism, justice, and philanthropy.

The unhallowed ambition of a Napoleon was fired by the study of antiquity, and sought a model in the usurper of the liberties of Rome. The frenzied lust of conquest of a Charles the Twelfth was stimulated into madness, by a vain desire to rival the glories of Alexander of Macedon. Examples of successful usurpation have been so common in history, that the world was astonished at the sublime virtue of a Washington, in refusing to sacrifice his country upon the altar of his ambition.

For one such character, standing alone in unrivaled sublimity and purity, how many sullied forms does history present—majestic, indeed, in intellectual greatness, and resplendent in mighty achievements; but, alas! the laurel of the conqueror is stained with innocent blood, and the loud-mouthed professions of the patriot and statesman have but too often been belied by the subsequent career of the tyrant and the despot. The fires of patriotism may be kindled into a more fervid glow, by contemplating the life of a Tell, a Hampden, a Kossuth, or a Washington; the student may be delighted and instructed by studying the characters of philosophers and poets, sages and historians, whose names have adorned the annals

of the past; the philanthropist may feel his heart swell within him, as he dwells on the sublime benevolence of a Howard, or a Fry; but, after all, history presents few models of character worthy of imitation, and it is much to be doubted whether the influence of historical examples has not done full as much to kindle the love of conquest, to excite the fires of unhallowed ambition, to foster a love for false glory, and to set in motion the arts of the demagogue, as to plant the seeds of patriotism, disinterestedness, and public and private virtue.

Wherein, then, consists the highest value of history? I answer, first, as it exhibits the mysterious workings of the Providence of God in the affairs of men; and, secondly, in the ends it furnishes us in ascertaining the true principles of human progress, in determining the real tendencies of our own times and institutions, and in solving those social and political problems which are constantly presented to the mind of the statesman and philanthropist, and which, in an age and country like ours, possess deep interest for all. In other words, the highest value of history (considered in this second point of view, to which I propose, in this lecture, to confine myself,) depends upon its power to furnish the materials for a social and political science, which, without aspiring to a

universal dominion over the mind, may yet assert a legitimate influence in the foundation of our opinions, and teach lessons of humility and wisdom to that over-weening spirit of self-laudation, and that presumptuous disregard of the past, which forms so marked a characteristic of our age and times.

Thus contemplated, history presents strong claims upon our attention, and speaks a language of deep and solemn import. Without asserting the infallibility of its counsels, or claiming for its teachings the certainty of scientific deductions, it yet presents a vast storehouse of facts, not perhaps of themselves sufficient to form a perfect system of social and political philosophy, but of inestimable value to the statesman, the moralist, and the philanthropist.

A correct estimate of the true office of history, in this respect, is essential, however, if we would alike avoid a slavish submission to past precedents, and a blind disregard of its counsels. He who asserts too much here does more to disparage than advance the just claims of history ; for it is not to be doubted, that one cause of the practical undervaluing of all ideas drawn from the annals of mankind, as aids in the solution of the political and social problems of the present, is the natural result of a reaction of the mind against that blind and bigoted attachment to past pre-

cedents and disposition to measure the mighty movements of an age like our own, by ideas drawn from periods of far more limited and less perfect development, which is characteristic of a blind and stand-still conservatism.

Whatever doubts may exist as to the ultimate perfectability of our race, no fact is more evident, or stands more boldly forth in the pages of history, than that the cause of humanity has thus far been towards a higher and more perfect development. Whatever may have been his original condition in primeval ages, the fact is undoubted, that from the time the dim light of tradition revealed him to our view, man has been a being of progress, that the successive social and political systems to which his mind has given birth, have, on the whole, notwithstanding long periods of apparent retrogradation, exhibited a principle of advancement.

Growth, expansion, progress, these are the laws of man's being, impressed with the finger of Deity ; and not all the crimes that have devastated earth, nor all the ruins of the Fall, have been able to entirely obliterate this impress of the Divine hand, or deprive him of those sublime aspirations for a better good, which impel him in his onward course.

Great as have been the evils resulting from a wild

and licentious freedom, they are not for a moment to be compared to the paralysis produced by the despotism of ideas and systems. Turn your eyes for a moment to the ancient seats of Asiatic civilization, where, for thousands of years, the human mind has stood still, and society has moved in a circle, like that of a tread-mill, without variety, and without progress; contemplate the slavery to old ideas, and an historical and traditionary faith, which for centuries involved the mind of Europe in the mazes of scholastic philosophy, and shut out from the soul of man the ennobling influences of religious freedom; study the history of the Reformation, not in its religious aspects only, but in its intellectual bearings; mark how the human mind, so long enslaved, from that great event darted forward, like lightning from the cloud, and, lo! the noble structure of modern civilization stands revealed in majestic outline, and seeds of liberty begin to germinate, which in their growth shall overturn the proudest structures of despotism, and reassert the sacred rights of man.

He who reads history with the view of making the present and the future conform to the past—who seeks for precedents, rather than demands reasons—who, living in the nineteenth century, searches among dusty records for charters of human right, rather than

the eternal letters patent of the Deity—perverts it from its nobler uses, to make it the ally of despotism and error. Look back through the long vista of the past—how rise before the mind, in endless succession, the proud structures of oppression and wrong—how groans the earth beneath the weight of power—how darkly roll long centuries of ignorance and gloom—how like the fitful meteor's flash, or,

“ Brief as the lightning in the collied night,
That in a spleen unfolds both heaven and earth,
And ere a man hath power to say, behold!
The jaws of darkness do devour it up”—

appear and disappear, 'mid troubled skies, the temples of Freedom and the citadels of Truth.

Contemplate the political and social condition of the vast masses of humanity in all ages, even down to our own times—how unmitigated the despotism beneath which the noblest energies of the soul have been crushed—how rings, in million-voiced agony, the manacle of the slave—how sinks the iron into the soul of the oppressed—how has ignorance, like a pall, in vain essayed to conceal the vices and the crimes itself hath caused—how few of the untold millions that have lived, have walked the earth with faces lifted to the skies, and souls illumined by the light of Truth!

Within this boasted century, and the limits of the

civilization of Europe, how many millions have sunk to rest on blood-stained fields, victims to an unhallowed lust for power !

Go to the crowded theatres of human life ; the very air becomes suffocating, and the noblest sympathies of the heart are paralyzed at the presence of monstrous forms of social ill, to the cure of which it is admitted the institutions of society are entirely inadequate. Or, turning from what history unfolds, to that vast ocean of human life over which her light but dimly broods, to those thronging millions whose fortunes have been too obscure, whose destiny too humble, to attract the notice of the historian, who in all ages have " fardels " borne, who were of free Athens three-fourths the population, the Helots of Sparta, the slaves of patrician Rome, the serfs of feudal Europe, the down-trodden and oppressed of modern despotism, and how dark and dreary seems the fate of man in the past.

The speechless agony of those vast masses, who have lived and suffered and died, without a record and without a name, speaks to the heart with a voice as much more impressive and eloquent than the ordinary utterances of history, as the deep undertones of Niagara excel in sublimity the noisy dashings of its superficial waters.

Surely the future has in store a better fate for man, institutions better adapted to secure his happiness and growth, than any that have existed in the past ; a higher success shall yet attend the struggles of humanity, and the vicissitudes of six thousand years are fraught with a nobler wisdom than that which would make the past achievements of man the measure of his future hopes. It is the office of history to be the guide of progress. To my mind, it presents itself as the aid of man in his struggles for something better, and not as an authoritative expounder of precedents. I would seek to discover in it the elements of a higher civilization, and those causes which have promoted or retarded the advancement of our race. I would look backward, not with the view of retracing my steps, but to discover those bearings and courses which may guide me in launching boldly forth upon the infinite ocean of universal truth.

In this point of view, and for these uses, there is no branch of knowledge more worthy of close study and full exploration, by the statesman and citizen of a republic like our own ; and nothing can be more dangerous than that radical spirit, which rushes into an extreme, the opposite of that we have been considering, and, with presumptuous pride, disdains to learn of history.

It is the part of the empyric and the quack to disregard the results of experience, and the laws which have been established by the labors, the observations, and the studies of successive generations of men, who have slowly built up the fabric of sound science upon the principles of induction ; but there is no quackery so fatal as that of the political empyric and demagogue, who experiments upon the welfare of states—who is ever ready with some nostrum to gratify a morbid and restless desire for change—who flatters the self-love of the people, by eloquent panegyrics upon the progress of the age, and whose eyes are blind to the lessons of that past which has been the grave of nations.

A profound knowledge of history is essential to all true statesmanship, to all really sound views, with regard to the tendency of the present, and cannot be dispensed with by any man, who, with right views, aspires to exercise an influence in the councils of his country, or in moulding the destiny and character of the age in which he lives.

In the acquisition of this knowledge, there are two things which strike me as peculiarly important. The first is, that we form a correct estimate of the relative value of different classes of historical facts ; and the second is, that we keep constantly in view the pecu-

liar application of these facts to the circumstances and political and social condition of our own country. The first is essential to the correctness of our conclusions, and the second tends greatly to increase their practical value.

I propose to occupy the remainder of this lecture by a brief reference to two or three classes of historical facts, with the view, rather of illustrating my ideas of this importance, than of attempting fully to investigate subjects which would require the highest philosophic powers, and a space much greater than I am permitted to occupy. And the first remark I would make is, that no error has been more common than the giving an undue importance to that class of facts which exhibits the mere external and material forms which social and political institutions have, in different ages and under varying circumstances, assumed. Or, in other words, the attributing to the mere social and political machinery which history exhibits, an inherent and substantial power for good or evil, without reference to the wants, capacities, and intellectual developments out of which they have sprung, and from which they have received their real life and vigor.

There is no dynamic force in machinery, whether it be a social organization, or a steam-engine manufactured to order. The value of the engine depends

upon the adaptation of its parts to the peculiar power which is designed to act upon it; and that of all institutions consists in their being the true and spontaneous development of the mind and spirit of the age, to whose wants, capacities, and aspirations they are destined to minister. Their perfection, therefore, is only relative and partial, and their success, in any given case, furnishes no proof of universal excellence and applicability.

This tendency, so natural to a being whose understanding and imagination are so much more liable to be strongly impressed by the sensible forms, than the essential essence of things, is no doubt increased by the predominant tendency of our age, towards the material and the mechanical, and the disposition to accomplish all kinds of social and moral reforms, by the mere force of machinery and physical combinations and arrangements.

It would not, I think, be difficult to show, that this tendency to trust to mere organization, and to attribute an undue importance to the influence of mere laws, institutions, and social arrangements, is the great error which lies at the bottom of most of the efforts of social and moral improvement, which have originated in our times.

Losing sight of the fact of the unity of man's moral

being, and that a moral force can only remove a moral evil, men have set themselves to work to bolster up the weakness of each other by artificial contrivances and the application of adroitly combined external machinery, which leaves the heart unaffected, and the real moral state as rickety and unsound as ever.

Forgetting that law, in a country like ours, is but an empty formula, a mere dead and lifeless corpse, unless public opinion and the popular spirit of the age breathe into it the breath of life, your moral machinist of the present day seems to think that the combination of a few empty words upon the statute book will cure evils, which can only be thoroughly eradicated by the cultivation of the mind and heart of man, and the power of truth upon his conscience.

Imagining that all social ills are the result of bad, or imperfect social arrangements, and blind to the fact that the depravity and selfishness of man are the deeply seated cause,

“ Why the lone widow and her orphans pine
In starving solitude, while Luxury lies
Straining her low thoughts, to form unreal wants,”

the socialist dreams of perfection in the “ phylanstery ” and the “ phalanx,” and spends his time and ingenuity in contriving some form of social machinery in which man being placed, at once all his discordant passions shall be sweetly harmonized.

This mode of viewing historical facts has led to mistakes most fatal to the happiness of nations, and has caused most of the disasters which have checked the progress of free principles, and thrown dishonor on the hallowed cause of human liberty.

Conservatism and Radicalism have alike split upon this rock, and in the collision of their antagonist principles, have either precipitated nations in the vortex of anarchy, or ground down the aspiring spirit of humanity beneath institutions admirably adapted perhaps to past centuries, but out of which it has long since grown.

The institutions of Greece were no doubt admirably adapted to the energies of that glorious people, and they possess for us a deep poetic interest ; but he who should attempt to establish liberty by their reconstruction, in our times, might indeed be considered an amiable enthusiast, but could hardly lay claim to the meed of sound statesmanship.

The turbulent freedom of Rome gave birth to the mightiest power that ever shook the earth by its tread ; but a knowledge of the mere formulas of her civil and social constitution, except so far as they threw light upon the operation of moral and intellectual causes, is of little value except to the mere historical antiquary, who takes the same delight in study-

ing the cast off exuvia of departed political systems, that the man of *vertu* does in collecting in his museum fragments of stone from the ruins of the Coliseum, or pieces of furniture that crossed the ocean on the deck of the Mayflower.

Even the feudal system, that vast fabric of oppression and wrong, sprang from, and was admirably adapted to, the wants of a period which required the strong arm of a universally diffused military power to prevent the entire dissolution of the social state. But the man who should argue from this the necessity of an aristocracy, in an age and country like ours, would be considered hardly more sane than he who should recommend the building of Gothic castles for private residences, or the maintenance of a band of armed retainers as necessary to the safety of the household of an American citizen.

These material forms which human institutions have assumed, are but the manifestations, the organs of mind. They are, from their very nature, partial and temporary. It is only mind and spirit that are universal and eternal, or that have universal and eternal laws. These organisms are but the outward clothing which the mind takes to itself for temporary purposes; they are to the growing, expansive, universal soul of man, what "this muddy vesture of

decay, which doth basely clothe us in," is to the immortal spirit, to be shaken off, when the period of final emancipation and a higher state of being shall arrive.

How fatally has the error we have been considering been exhibited in the political movements and the struggles for liberty in France and Europe, for the last sixty years. How frightful the vortex of anarchy into which nations have been precipitated, by vainly imagining that freedom could be secured by adopting democratic constitutions, and that free forms could be the substitute for that social and intellectual development in which freedom really consists, and without which it is the merest chimera.

This fundamental error has stained the sublime cause of human freedom with anarchy and blood, and inseparably connected the "Reign of Terror" with the triumphs of a people unfit to be free.

That certain forms of government may be better adapted than others to the development of man's whole being, there is no doubt; but it is a truth deeply impressed upon the annals of our race, that tyranny may lurk under any form of government; that irresponsible power, whether in the few or the many, is despotism; that even democracy may become but the embodied form of a blind and brutal

physical force ; and that it is the spirit that animates, the soul that fills and infuses life and energy into the structure of a state, and not its political or constitutional formulas, that determine the true character of its government.

Europe may, from time to time, precipitate herself into anarchy, or be torn in convulsions which shall paralyze her industry, retard her civilization, and destroy millions of her population ; but until her people shall be educated into freemen—until free institutions shall spring up, as it were, the spontaneous growth of her soil, be acclimated under the guardian care of virtue and intelligence, and ripen in maturity beneath the sun of a pure and true religion, she cannot be free, whatever forms of government she may adopt, and there is every reason to believe that every effort will result as the last has done, in the re-establishment of despotism, or the destruction of all true liberty, by the prætorian guards of a republican President, Consul, or Emperor.

True and perfect freedom—that liberty which consists in the highest development of mind and heart—which, if it shall ever, in its noblest form, bless man on earth, will not only secure him against unjust and unequal laws, but also free him from the tyranny of ideas and opinions, and enable him to aspire to the

higher truth without regard to the lower expediency, will be the noblest of human achievements, the divine and beautiful efflorescence produced by long centuries of silent growth and gradual development. It cannot, being spirit, be born from mere organism. Its birth-place must be the heart; and from the deep well-springs of the soul, it must flow forth to bless man, and give new energy to all his faculties.

Moral power, to resist influences that degrade — intellectual force, to guard the mind against the tyranny of ideas — religious aspirations, which shall lead the soul from earth to heaven — these are its essential essence, and where these exist man must be free; the shackles will fall from his limbs, the power of tyrants wither, the institutions of despotism crumble, and the emancipated soul shall soar aloft, and aspire to the heavens of eternal truth.

Let us, then, be careful in our study of history, not to attribute an undue importance to a class of facts, which, however interesting to the antiquary, or useful to manufacturers of model constitutions, are really valuable to the man who studies history for practical ends, only so far as they tend to throw light upon the action of profounder causes, of which they are but the manifestations.

The next class of facts with regard to which I wish

to submit a few thoughts, though not belonging to the number of universal causes, and therefore subordinate, yet occupy an important place in all historical narratives, and are worthy of careful study from the influence they have exerted, not only in the formation of political systems, but in developing the energies of man. I allude to those facts which exhibit the influence of nations upon each other in their external relations—the wars and rivalries of different states, and of different classes in the same state, for pre-eminence and power.

It is a very common idea that the great fault of history is, that it is too much occupied with the details of war and national conflicts; and that an undue importance has been given to a class of facts which so frightfully exhibits the ravages of human passion, and the sufferings of humanity, from the fearful scourge of war.

That there is much truth in this view, I am not disposed to deny; but he will greatly err, who, suffering his imagination and his sensibilities to blind his philosophical acumen, reads history without a just appreciation of the profound influence to be attributed to this class of causes.

However high may be our hopes that in the future history of our race, a higher and nobler stimulus may

be found sufficient to excite all the faculties, to develop genius and energy, and to prevent that paralysis and torpor, which have so invariably been found to follow periods of great activity and movement, the fact is undoubted, that in the past the grand exciting element of national energy and individual greatness has been the struggle of opposing forces ; and that the influence of internal and external war and conflict has been mighty, not only in determining the fate of empires, but in the dissemination of ideas, and in giving a strong impulse to the mind. The collision and comingling of hostile races, the rival ambitions of neighboring states, the devastating march of conquest, and the struggles for independence, though they have stained the earth with blood, have yet awakened into life the dormant spirit of nations, and led to the most extraordinary exhibitions of genius, energy and power ; while in the struggles of opposing social elements in the same nation, we may discover those profound causes which have modified political institutions, and enslaved or enfranchised man.

The immortal struggle of Greece against the power of Persia infused into the soul of that glorious people the energy, which not only rolled back the tide of war from the Pireus to the gates of Susa, but gave birth to the genius which created the Parthenon, and made

Athens, in the age of Pericles, the glory and the wonder of the world.

The struggles of the Italian states, in the middle ages, and that turbulent activity which planted the seeds of liberty in Milan, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa, were the source from which sprung the genius of a Dante, a Tasso, a Michael Angelo, and a Raphael ; and Italy, torn by civil war and intestine commotions, and overwhelmed by the arms of foreign invaders, drew inspiration from classic founts, relumed the torch of ancient learning, and diffused through Europe that taste for literature which was in no small degree instrumental in fitting it for the glorious advent of the Reformation.

Vast empires, standing alone in isolated separation, or extending their dominions over conquered continents, though often the seats of profound peace and physical prosperity, as was the Roman Empire in the days of the Antonines, have ever been found most unfriendly to the development of those moral and intellectual energies and powers which constitute the highest glory of the human race. Asia has for centuries borne witness to this truth, and to the paralyzing effect of the entire predominance of a single political and social element ; while the long-continued intellectual activity of Europe is greatly to be attri-

buted to the active rivalry of her numerous small and independent states, and those national jealousies and emulations which have furnished inexhaustible sources of stimulating power.

Turning from this view of the subject, if we study with attention the history of the civil and social rivalries and conflicts between different classes in the same state, we cannot but perceive that even civil war and intestine commotion furnish the sources from whence may be derived important lessons in political wisdom.

The grand characteristic of modern civilization in Europe consists in the diversity of elements it combines. For the last thousand years that continent has been the theatre of a struggle between opposing social forces, in the results of which we may discover the causes which have determined the political condition of its numerous states. The most important of these have been the church, monarchy, aristocracy, people.

In Italy, the former has prevailed, and an intellectual slavery and moral torpor have for centuries made a land, most beautiful and favored by nature, the seat of ancient empire and the birth-place of modern art, the victim of superstition and the grave of freedom.

The triumph of the principle of monarchy, in most other states of Europe, less perfect than that of the church in Italy, has yet given birth to those colossal systems of despotism, which, notwithstanding the throes of the Genius of Liberty, yet rear their towering forms on high, sustained by the bayonets of standing armies, and the unfitness of their subjects for the enjoyment of liberty; while in England we have seen, gradually emerging into light, that spirit of liberty, which, from her rock-bound shore, was first transplanted to those western wilds, amid the struggles of civil war and intestine commotion, and may discover in the partial equilibrium of social forces, called by politicians the "balances" of the Constitution, the power which has for centuries secured to her children the blessings of a government of law, responsible, in some degree at least, to the people.

My limits will but permit me to touch upon subjects, presented with the view, not to satisfy, but to excite inquiry. I cannot, however, leave this without suggesting it as an interesting subject of study, what is to be the effect upon our character and destiny as a people, of our almost entire separation from the influence of causes which have operated so powerfully upon other states and nations.

The only great power in the western hemisphere,

extending a dominion over a vast empire, separated by oceans from all powerful rivals ; a democratic Republic, based upon an entire equality of rights, and containing but a single great social element, which holds supreme and undisputed sway ; what is likely to be the effect of this national isolation, this social unity ; and from what elements in our institutions and civilization are we to look for that nobler stimulus, which shall give permanence to our future progress, and develop, in the maturity of our national growth, that intellectual greatness, that creative power of genius, that high-souled energy, which constitute the greatest glory of a nation ? In what principles, in our political and federative system, discover that counteracting power, which shall restrain the excessive action of that equality which tends to give to the mere force of numbers a despotism, fatal alike to individual freedom of opinion, and to the development of genius and intellect ? Is it to be found in the commercial spirit, which is the grand moving passion of our age ? On the contrary, it seems to me that it is the least hopeful feature of our time ; that its most extraordinary achievements spring from the impulses of this passion, and tend to increase its intensity. There is little of real sublimity in this money-making spirit, that builds cities in a day, binds continents with iron bands,

transmits ideas with lightning speed, and harnesses to the cars of industry all the mighty powers of nature. If we penetrate deeper, and discover its essential character, we shall be forced to the conclusion, that its moral, and even its eventual intellectual agencies, are degrading, and that it can never be a source of high and true inspiration, or mould the character of man into greatness.

The worship of wealth is the most degrading of human idolatries. The spirit that traverses earth for gold, and sends hundreds of thousands to the El-Dorado of the Pacific, though it make railroads, invent telegraphs, and navigate the ocean by steam; though it multiply its inventions, and astonish by the number, variety, and ingenuity of its appliances; though it create states in a day, and, with magic rapidity, convert the howling wilderness into the fruitful field, is none the less wanting in that moral element, without which all its boasted progress furnishes no security for the ultimate happiness, for the real advancement of our race.

Is it to be looked for in the democratic and federative principles of our national system? This question opens a field of inquiry into which I shall not undertake to enter; perhaps, however, it may, if with these be combined and thoroughly interfused the spirit and

the power of a pure christianity, which shall temper the excesses of the physical rule of mere majorities irresponsible to man, by a deep and all-pervading sense of responsibility to God, and impart the ennobling influence of a faith that takes hold on immortality.

Free institutions, to secure free thought and free action; the union of numerous states, without destroying their separate sovereignty, to prevent that tyranny of central power, and that tendency to intellectual torpor and moral decay, which are so apt to characterize vast empires consolidated into unity; a pure and divine faith to give direction to this activity, and implant elements of lasting growth; in the combination of these, it seems to me, we may look for the highest happiness and glory of our country.

This naturally leads me to the last class of facts to which I wish to call your attention in connection with the study of history. I allude to those which exhibit the influence of the religious element in man, upon his political and social condition. To do justice to this theme requires volumes. I propose, however, to submit but one or two leading ideas which it suggests, and then leave it for your future study and examination.

It is a striking fact in the history of our race, that

the abuse and perversion of this, the noblest faculty of man, has been the most effective cause of his moral and intellectual slavery. From the earliest ages, that principle in the soul which makes man conscious of a Deity, that instinctive hope and dread of immortality, which at once excites his fears and kindles his noblest aspirations, has been seized upon as the means of making him a slave. In the early history of the world, we are struck by the fact, that in all the great primitive nations — in China, India, and Egypt — vast systems of despotisms arose upon the basis of religious ideas, and were sustained by a priesthood which monopolized the intelligence of the age, and tyrannized over the soul and body of man, by exciting his superstitious fears and paralyzing his intellect.

Eastern Asia has for thousands of years, in almost its entire extent, been paralyzed by the influence of Buddhism and Brahmanism, religions whose philosophy aspires to nothing higher than quietism, and whose systems of caste destroy every element of activity, and condemn the vast masses of humanity to an intellectual slavery and social degradation, which are unrelieved by a single high impulse or noble aspiration. Those oriental despotisms, where every noble trait of humanity is extinguished, and man, the victim of power and the slave of fear, lives but to crouch

and tremble, are, and have been, almost without exception, hierarchical in their character. The Emperor of China, the Grand Lama of Thibet, the Shah of Persia, and the Sultan of Turkey, are not only considered by their degraded subjects as the depositories of temporal power, but as the representatives of Deity on earth, if not themselves worshipped as divine. The vast pillars of these mighty edifices have their foundation in the superstitious fears of the human breast.

Mahomedanism was in its origin, and has ever been, based upon a union of the highest powers of Church and State, in the caliphs and sultans, who claim to be the successors of its prophet and founder.

Turning from the East to Europe, we cannot but be struck with the fact, that the principle of monarchy on that continent has been mainly indebted to its triumph over other social elements to the intervention of the church; and that corrupt perversion of christianity, which, itself aspiring to tyrannize over the mind, became the ally of despotism, and guarded the thrones of monarchs, with the idea of the "right divine of kings to govern wrong." If we contemplate the present condition of the world, it will appear that much the largest portion of the human race groans beneath systems of despotic government, based upon the

abuse of the religious principle in nature, and sustained by the degradation which that perversion has caused. Buddhism, Brahmanism, Mahomedanism, yet reign in triumph over half the population of the world; and the idea of the divine right of kings, not entirely extinguished even in England until the close of the seventeenth century, yet sustains the tottering despotisms of Europe, and the placing of the crown on the heads of monarchs by priest, or patriarch, or pope, yet constitutes a portion of the mummeries of a royal coronation.

Such is the melancholy lesson history presents — such the fate of fallen man. In the perversion of his nature, its noblest element, its most heaven-born endowment, has been the means of reducing him to slavery.

May we not be led, however, by its careful study, to the consoling thought, that what in its perversion has proved so fatal, may yet, by its right direction and proper cultivation, renovate the world, give to the powers of man their purest and highest development, and to society forms of civilization more beautiful and glorious than any that adorned the past.

Why is it that the past has been the grave of nations, and that the noblest structures of civilization have so suddenly vanished? Have they been over-

turned by conquest? Have they fallen victims to barbarian arms? These may have given the final blow to systems already crumbling, and just on the verge of their fall, but we must look deeper if we would discover the efficient causes of their decay.

Greece fell not until her ancient spirit was extinct, and all her energies sapped by moral decay. Her religion was poetic and beautiful, but it was human, not divine; its forms of beauty and grace were sensual and evanescent, not spiritual and eternal. The inspiration of her poets, the lofty heroism of her warriors, the wisdom of her philosophers, all were drawn from earthly sources, and stimulated by merely human passions: they decayed, and she perished!

Rome fell not the victim of barbarian arms until the Roman soul was gone, until the Roman heart of energy and fire had ceased to beat. That vast structure contained no element of immortal growth, and it fell with the decay of that mighty impulse of ambition which made her the mistress of the world.

The civilization of the ancients lacked that ennobling principle which links the soul to an unchangeable and eternal God; that religion which gives to regenerate man a higher life, and fills his heart with the divine idea of immortality, that finds in love to man and love to God an element of high and active

impulse, which is as eternal as the Deity upon which it is fixed.

It is a remarkable fact, illustrative of the difference between christianity and Mahomedanism — a true and false religion — that while the brilliant flash of Arabic and Saracenic learning and genius sunk to rise no more beneath the first inroads of Tartar invasion, Christianity asserted her divine power over the wild barbarians of the north, and, with a steady progress, for two thousand years, has infused its sacred influence into the heart of man, and stimulated his intellect to higher and higher achievements. She could not, it is true, regenerate Rome ; her vast bulk was already attacked with a fatal moral disease, and contained no element of a healthful regeneration ; but she appropriated to herself the rude vigor and untutored activity of the invaders of the seat of ancient empire, and planted among them principles which, notwithstanding her own corruption and imperfect development, have given birth to a civilization more multi-form and varied, richer in knowledge, profounder in science, more elevated in its aspirations, more ennobling in its influence upon individual character, more full of hope for the masses of mankind, than had ever before existed in the world. Addressing itself to the immortal principle in man, and giving force to its pure

morality, by considerations that depend not upon changing, but eternal and immutable causes, it seems to realize the boast of the ancient mathematician, by finding in that world to which the soul is hastening the basis upon which to rest the lever by which this is to be moved.

Here, then, in the religious and moral elements in man's nature are to be found the causes which shall determine his future destiny, as they have most certainly given character to his past history ; and he who would rightly understand the future, cannot too sedulously study facts which throw light upon the operation of causes which lie so deep beneath the foundations of all society, and all institutions.

To the citizens of a Republic these views address themselves with peculiar force ; to the man who, with clear vision, contemplates the present condition of the world, they cannot but excite many anxious doubts and fears ; the ideas they suggest are in the highest degree solemn and important.

A profound writer, centuries ago, declared virtue to be the peculiar principle of a Republic, thus clearly indicating that, where free governments exist, moral causes are far more operative upon political institutions than elsewhere. This conclusion, drawn from a profound study of the past, and of human nature, has

been verified by subsequent history, and is a great practical truth, which ought to govern the conduct of every man, who aspires to serve his country, or to advance the highest interests of humanity.

Let no man flatter himself that he can confer any benefit upon his country, or his kind, which will justify him in pandering to a corrupt moral sense; or that he can, with propriety, resort to the low arts of the demagogue, with the view to use nobly what has been basely acquired. It is the first duty of the patriot to strengthen the foundations of free government, by elevating the morals. It is the most sacred duty of the man to preserve his own self-respect, and to diffuse lessons of public virtue. No success can justify self-degradation, no pretence of public good authorise an appeal to those degrading passions, or a resort to those low treacheries which tend to increase and perpetuate the vices upon which they depend for success. If such is the only road to success, the argument against resorting to it assumes a double force, for the lower the tone of public morals, the more sacred becomes the duty to breast the torrent and make a noble stand for the right. In such a case the struggle becomes one between life and death, and he is vilely recreant to the cause of humanity who for one moment flinches from that contest be-

tween man's baser and his nobler nature, that strife between truth and error, which is big with the destiny of nations.

"Low beneath the sea of Error
Up the truth is toiling slow,
Heeding not his waves of terror,
Darkly surging to and fro:
Through the lapse of ages weary,
Yieldeth never to despair,
Though a darkness, thick and dreary,
Shutteth out the upper air.

And it riseth high and higher
With each strife for liberty,
Still to heaven ascending nigher,
Heaven, its summit's destiny!
Till it stands, a mountain hoary,
Resting on foundations broad,
Over which a path of glory
Leadeth earnest souls to God."





